

# The Akkadian Stative: A Non-Finite Verb

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## Abstract

*Despite the consensus that the Stative originated as a nominal construction, many scholars have claimed that the form is synchronically a finite verb, and some have called it a “tense”. Others, however, have argued that it remains a nominal construction throughout the history of written Akkadian. The purpose of this paper is twofold: (1) to determine whether the Stative is a verb or not and (2) to determine whether it is finite or non-finite. In order to do so, we bring recent linguistic evidence to bear on the issue, establishing that the Stative is in fact a verb. However, in the ancient Semitic languages, a finite verb must meet the morphological, syntactic and semantic requirements of inflection, predication and markedness for T/A/M (=Tense/Aspect/Mood). So this study examines the Stative to see if it meets these requirements. After surveying the literature, describing the state of the question and analysing recent descriptions of the Stative, we conclude that while the form is morphologically inflected and always predicates, it is not a finite verb, because it is unmarked for T/A/M. This distinguishes the form from the Akkadian finite verbs (iprus, iparras, and iptaras). The Stative is a non-finite verb that denotes situations (only) with non-progressive, continuous imperfective aspect.\**

There is no consensus to date on the categorisation of the Stative (*parVs/pars-*) in Akkadian.<sup>1</sup> The morphological base of the Stative is nominal and undeniably related to the Verbal Adjective base, and the nominal origin of the Stative is unquestionable. But many early grammatical sketches of Akkadian considered the form to be a finite verb.<sup>2</sup> This categorisation of the suffix conjugation in the first East Semitic (ES) language discovered in modern times was initially the result of West Semitic (WS) influence and especially Arabic, which held a preeminent position in comparative Semitic studies.<sup>3</sup> The older literature, such as von Soden’s *GAG*, often labels the Stative a “tense”,<sup>4</sup> but most of the recent works (over the last 30 years) that treat the Stative

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<sup>1</sup> We prefer the term “Stative” for the *parvs/pars-* form since it always indicates a state. We capitalise the form (Stative) for disambiguation with the situation aspect (stative). Throughout this paper *GAG* refers to von Soden 1995. Also, TAM stands for tense, aspect, and mood, while T/A/M stands for tense, aspect, or mood.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Delitzsch 1906, §117; Bergsträsser 1983, pp. 21–22; Ungnad 1906, §30. More recently this position has been taken up by Kurylowicz 1972, pp. 92–93; Kraus 1984; Illingworth 1990; Kouwenberg 2000, pp. 21–71; Metzler 2002, pp. 892–900.

<sup>3</sup> Goetze 1942, p. 2, and, as quoted by Huehnergard (2002, p. 128 n. 4), Nöldeke’s statement; “[a] comparative grammar of the Semitic languages must of course be based upon Arabic.”

<sup>4</sup> §76a “Es gibt vier ‘Tempora’, den nur mit Endungen konjugierten Stativ.”

as a finite verb have avoided this term.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, many scholars have argued that the Stative remains a nominal construction throughout the history of written Akkadian.<sup>6</sup> But the uses of the Stative present challenges for both categorisations. That a noun can be used in the Stative (e.g., CH §128 *sinništum šī ul aššat* “that woman is not a wife”) and that transitive verbs are sometimes passive and sometimes active (e.g., *mātum aḫiz* “the land is seized,” and *mātam aḫiz* “he is in possession of the land”) has been difficult for scholars who categorise the Stative as a finite verb and for those who consider it a verbless predicate, respectively. Given the complex nature of the form, there are also those who, paradoxically, consider *parus/pars-* a finite verb and a conjugated noun. Von Soden, for example, considers the Stative a verb form that “represents in essence the conjugation of a noun and may constitute a verbal adjective ... as well as a substantive ...”<sup>7</sup>

Over the last 25 years several studies have directly stated or indirectly implied that the Stative is a finite verb and has a role in the TAM system of Akkadian. The purpose of this study is two-fold: (1) to determine whether the Akkadian Stative is a verb or not and (2) to determine whether it is finite or non-finite.<sup>8</sup> It is important to bear in mind that finiteness is not a universal cross-linguistic category,<sup>9</sup> but it can be a helpful category for the purpose of describing a particular language’s verbal system. We believe that categorising verb forms as finite and non-finite in Akkadian and other ancient Semitic languages not only has pedagogical value, but is also a meaningful way to semantically distinguish verb forms. It is our hope that the conclusions drawn from this long overdue study<sup>10</sup> will bring us closer to answering the question of how the Akkadian Stative should be categorised.

We will begin with a survey that is focused on the most pertinent literature, as prominent Assyriologists have weighed in the balance the form’s morphology, syntax, and semantics. We then address the two major concerns of this paper. Linguistic typology will be brought to bear on the issue of the form’s nature to determine whether it is verbal or nominal. Then we will analyse the recent claims on the semantics of the Stative, before drawing conclusions on the semantics of the form and the role of semantics in the form’s categorisation.

<sup>5</sup> A recent exception is Stein 2000, p. 56, though by his own confession this is only for terminological simplification.

<sup>6</sup> Although Buccellati was not the first to argue the nominal nature of the Stative, he articulates the point clearly: “[w]hat is suggested here is not ... an explanation of the *origin* of the stative, but rather of the *nature* of the stative in *historical times*”; Buccellati 1968, p. 2. Also, Buccellati 1988; 1996; Cohen 1924, p. 41; Goetze 1942, p. 4; Castellino 1962, p. 83; Reiner 1966, p. 97; Gelb 1969, pp. 211–215; Diakonoff 1988, p. 85; Streck 1995, p. 187; Huehnergard 1987; Izre’el 2005, p. 23; Lipinski 1997, p. 337; Gai 1997, pp. 80–81; Leong 1994, p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> Moscati 1964, p. 132. Also see Illingworth 1990, pp. 348–352.

<sup>8</sup> This study is focused on the Old Babylonian (OB) dialect of Akkadian. We are not directly describing the functions of the suffix conjugation in Old Akkadian (OAKk), Western Peripheral Akkadian (WPA), or even the later Akkadian dialects, though the conclusions drawn here certainly have implications for the later dialects that are impacted by Old Babylonian. For studies discussing the suffix conjugation in these dialects, see Hasselbach 2004, pp. 247–248; Rainey 1996, pp. 281–366; Huehnergard 1986; and Streck 1995, pp. 177–189.

It should also be noted that this study does not include the Stative in the Gtn, Dtn, or other *-tan-* Stems, as they change the semantics of the verb. For a recent and extensive study on the semantic difference between Stems in Biblical Hebrew, see Benton 2009.

<sup>9</sup> See Cristofaro 2007, pp. 91–114, who has questioned the usefulness of cross-linguistic categories of finiteness and nonfiniteness.

<sup>10</sup> See the comments of Loesov (2012, p. 82 n. 20), that no one has challenged Kouwenberg’s conclusion in 2000 that the Stative is a finite verb, though scholars have continued to describe the stative in non-finite terms, e.g., Izre’el and Cohen 2004, p. 49.

## Survey of recent research

Much of the recent literature on the Stative has been dedicated to identifying whether the Stative is the predicate of a verbal or verbless clause. In the following survey, we will summarise the views of four major contributors to the recent debate, highlighting their perspectives on the morphology, syntax, and semantics of *parvs/pars-*.

Although the Stative had already received significant attention in the 1960s,<sup>11</sup> it was Buccellati's 1968 article that honed in on the issue of categorisation. Buccellati observed the apparent contradiction in the traditional grammars of categorising the Stative as a tensed verb and a conjugated noun, and argued that clauses with the Stative are nominal. He was very dissatisfied with the unnatural claim that "any noun ... may be conjugated as a stative ... but only in one tense."<sup>12</sup>

Morphologically, Buccellati analysed the component parts of the Stative as a nominal base (*pars-*) with a pronominal suffix (*-āku*, *-āta*, etc.). He compared the personal endings of the Stative with independent personal pronouns and claimed that, at least for the first and second person forms, the suffix should be analysed as a pronoun. However, he offered no explanation for the  $-\emptyset$  ending of the third masculine singular or the other third person endings. He concluded that the form should be understood as "noun" and "pronoun" respectively, rather than as a finite verb.<sup>13</sup> This led Buccellati to conclude that the Stative did not deserve a separate discussion in his grammar, as its parts and functions are fully described in other sections.<sup>14</sup>

From a syntactic point of view, Buccellati considered the personal endings pronominal suffixes that are the grammatical subject of the clause. He took the restrictions on the use of the ventive as evidence that the form was not truly verbal,<sup>15</sup> and concluded that the Stative is "*the regular*" form for marking a nominal predicate in a verbless clause.<sup>16</sup> But, in light of Huehnergard's 1987 study (see below), he modified the "rule" for when the Stative is used that he originally proposed.<sup>17</sup> Buccellati considered the Stative to be semantically equal to the WS verbless clause, rather than the WS suffix-conjugation, based on the fact that it is functionally parallel to the WS nominal clause.<sup>18</sup>

In his grammar, Buccellati claimed that "[t]he *verbal* predicate (a) consists of any finite form of the verb, (b) it describes action and (c) it contains reference to time specification..." On the other hand, "[t]he *nominal* predicate (a) consists of a noun, (b) it describes condition, and (c) it

<sup>11</sup> Most notable is the lengthy article by Rowton (1962). He did not, however, directly address the issue at hand.

<sup>12</sup> Buccellati 1968, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Buccellati 1968, pp. 5–6.

<sup>14</sup> Buccellati states that morphologically, "it is wholly subsumed under categories which are described independently: in terms of internal inflection, the patterns are identical to those of the stative participle or verbal adjective, while on the other hand external inflection is that of the noun in the predicative state bound with pronominal suffixes. And syntactically, the so-called 'permansive' is identical to a bound nominal sentence. It is thus redundant and uneconomical to add a special category which cannot be differentiated, on any distribution grounds of either form or function, from other existing categories" Buccellati 1996, pp. 121–122.

<sup>15</sup> Buccellati 1968, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Emphasis original, Buccellati 1968, pp. 2, 6–11.

<sup>17</sup> "[T]he rule proposed in Buccellati 1968: 10, may be rephrased as follows: **the simple, indefinite predicate of a verbless sentence occurs regularly in the predicative state**" (emphasis original), Buccellati 1988, p. 173.

<sup>18</sup> Buccellati 1968, pp. 2, 11–12; Buccellati 1996, p. 354. On this point also see Aro 1965, pp. 407–412.

does not contain reference to time specification.”<sup>19</sup> With these definitions of verbal and nominal predicates and his morphological, syntactic, and semantic analysis of the Stative, he concluded that it was not only nominal in origin but also in function in “*historical times*.”<sup>20</sup>

Although Buccellati’s essay drew attention to several areas in need of it, the study was not received without harsh criticism. Kraus, in his monograph *Nominalsätze in altbabylonischen Briefen und der Stativ*, sharply criticised on several accounts Buccellati’s essay and his arguments for viewing the Stative as a nominal form. First, while Kraus’ corpus was clearly defined, Buccellati’s was seemingly ad hoc, a critique that went unheeded in Buccellati’s second article on the Stative.<sup>21</sup> He also pointed out that Buccellati’s assessment of the two component parts of the Stative creates a glaring grammatical inconsistency between the base, which is “*unveränderlich der gleiche*,” and the pronominal ending, which is marked for person and gender, pointing out that this was already noted by Ungnad in the second edition of his grammar in 1926.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Buccellati’s focus on the nominal Stative as the regular form of the predicate nominative is called anachronistic by Kraus, as the nominal Stative is a later, secondary development of the Stative.<sup>23</sup> Kraus also very sharply criticised Buccellati for drawing on comparative Semitic grammar rather than focusing solely on the Akkadian evidence.<sup>24</sup>

Kraus’ work is very important in a number of regards. First, certain of his criticisms have been widely accepted, especially that the base and the ending are not subject to the normal rules of agreement and the secondary development of the nominal Stative.<sup>25</sup> He also began his study with a clear definition of a verbal clause: one in which a (finite) verb is the predicate.<sup>26</sup> Third, it was his harsh criticisms of Buccellati that inspired a flourish of literature to follow.

However, Kraus’ discussion of the form itself was greatly insufficient. He did not offer an explanation for its shape; he simply raised questions concerning the unchanging base, the relationship of the two component parts, the first and second person markers against the third person markers, and an explanation for the third person forms.<sup>27</sup> What he did offer is a semantically split paradigm. He considered the *parvus/pars-* form to be nominal with some lexemes but verbal with others. He claimed that (1) stative verbs in the Stative form denote a state, and that, essentially, they are adjectives and thus should be treated as nominal clauses.<sup>28</sup> Statives of fientic verbs, however, (2) describe a given situation without reference to “*Aktionsart*.” On analogy of the adjectival Stative, (3a) Statives of fientic verbs can express a situation as the result of an

<sup>19</sup> Buccellati 1996, p. 354.

<sup>20</sup> Buccellati 1968, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> “If I am not mistaken, Buccellati, however, has not spoken about which texts his research is based on” (German original: “Wenn ich recht sehe, hat Buccellati sich jedoch nicht darüber ausgesprochen, auf welchen Texten seine Untersuchung beruht...”), Kraus 1984, p. 13. Buccellati 1988, pp. 154–155.

<sup>22</sup> Kraus 1984, p. 17, quote from p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> Kraus 1984, pp. 15, 17. This is one of the few points upon which Kraus and Huehnergard agree, though their reasoning is, of course, very different; see, Huehnergard 1987, p. 223 n. 23.

<sup>24</sup> Kraus 1984, pp. 19–20.

<sup>25</sup> A notable exception is Kraus’ ill-advised dismissal of comparative Semitics; see Huehnergard 1987, p. 217 n. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Kraus 1984, p. 3. Buccellati, on the other hand, did not give an explicit definition for verbal or nominal clauses in his 1968 article.

<sup>27</sup> Kraus 1984, p. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Kraus 1984, pp. 12–13.

action, and (3b) nominal Statives denote an attribute held by the subject.<sup>29</sup> Since he categorised clauses with Statives of the types (2), (3a) and (3b) as verbal clauses, they are considered finite verbs.<sup>30</sup>

Huehnergard, who was already working on his own explanation of the form when Kraus' monograph was published, could not agree with Kraus' conclusion and quickly responded in two articles, pointing out deficiencies of Kraus' discussion of the Stative's morphology, syntax, and semantics.<sup>31</sup> By way of critique, Huehnergard noted that Kraus did not offer a satisfactory explanation of the morphology of the form. Kraus' idea of the adjectival, nominal, and verbal Statives as "morphologically unrelated" in spite of the fact that they all "unaccountably share" the same morphological endings is entirely unsatisfactory.<sup>32</sup> He also critiqued Kraus' syntactic explanation of the Stative as being overly complex and one that raises as many issues as it resolves. Huehnergard noted that there is an "obvious semantic relationship" between the Stative (*parvs/pars-*) and the Verbal Adjective (*parsum*), with the exception of what has been traditionally called the "active stative",<sup>33</sup> and pointed out that Kraus gave no explanation for how a verbal form "might give rise to morphologically similar forms with noun bases and [yet have] a different semantic function."<sup>34</sup> Huehnergard also noted that, while Kraus is correct in asserting that nominal Statives were a secondary development, he gives "no linguistic mechanism for their generation."<sup>35</sup>

Huehnergard, like Buccellati, considers the Stative a verbless predicate but he offers a more comprehensive and linguistically informed approach. His view differs from that of Buccellati in three crucial ways.<sup>36</sup> First, he suggested that there was a full paradigm of Proto-Semitic (PS) independent pronouns that corresponded not only to the first and second person forms but also to the third person singular and plural forms. He posited that the third person PS independent pronouns were replaced by demonstrative pronouns after the formation of the suffix conjugation.<sup>37</sup> This reconstruction resulted in his claim that, syntactically, clauses with a Stative predicate are verbless clauses that consist "of a predicate adjective or noun followed by a suffixed pronoun, in which the latter always functions as the subject of the construction."<sup>38</sup> This led to the conclusion that in clauses with a Stative and a preceding independent pronoun the latter is a *casus pendens*.<sup>39</sup>

Second, Huehnergard recognised that there are seemingly verbal uses of the Stative with verbal roots. He noted that morphemes such as the ventive, dative and accusative pronominal suffixes, and the so-called subjunctive marker clearly indicate that the form is syntactically functioning as

<sup>29</sup> Kraus 1984, p. 12. See Huehnergard 1987, p. 217.

<sup>30</sup> Kraus 1984, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Huehnergard's response to Kraus is mostly relegated to footnotes in the first (1986), but is addressed directly in the second (1987).

<sup>32</sup> Huehnergard 1987, p. 219.

<sup>33</sup> Huehnergard 1987, p. 219. In 1987, he suggested that they be called "pseudo-verbs," but in his grammar, he refers to the so-called active stative as the "Transitive *parsāku*," Huehnergard 2011, p. 393.

<sup>34</sup> Huehnergard 1987, p. 219.

<sup>35</sup> Huehnergard 1987, p. 219.

<sup>36</sup> Huehnergard credits Kraus for pointing out these deficiencies in Buccellati's essay, 1987, p. 220.

<sup>37</sup> Huehnergard 1987, pp. 221–222.

<sup>38</sup> Huehnergard 1986, p. 228.

<sup>39</sup> Huehnergard 1986, pp. 228–230.

a verb. Yet Huehnergard did not think verbal syntax enough to make the form a finite verb.<sup>40</sup> He claimed that a verbal sentence “in Akkadian is defined as expressing a process,” but the Stative, though it may connote a process, always denotes a condition.<sup>41</sup>

The third major difference between Huehnergard’s approach and that of Buccellati is that the latter did not take the “active stative” into consideration. Although it is often said that transitive verbs in the Stative can be either active or passive (or “neutral” in voice), rarely is a linguistic explanation for this phenomenon given. Huehnergard, however, proposed a secondary, analogical development of the “active stative,” or what he now calls the Transitive *parsāku*. He considers it a secondary form made by analogy of intransitive verbs in the Stative and finite forms and internal pressure to have an “active stative” (*uṣīb* – “he sat down”: *waṣīb* – “he is seated”: *imḥur* – “he received”: X, and X = *māḥir* – “he is in receipt of”).<sup>42</sup> It is an “analogical imitation” of the (passive) Stative, acting as a resultative of a transitive action. Although the “active stative” form may be morphologically identical to a Stative of a transitive root used as a passive, context disambiguates the two by supplying an object for the former. The “active stative” usually appears with a handful of verbs having to do with grasping or seizing,<sup>43</sup> which might be an indication of an analogically achieved function. Since the analogy of transitive verbs in the Stative is based on the meaning of the same roots in the finite verbal forms, the semantics of the form are no longer that of a predicate adjective as the other Statives are. Huehnergard classifies these as *pseudo-verbs*.<sup>44</sup> Thus he provided a linguistic mechanism for explaining two identical forms with different semantic functions.

Huehnergard’s description and explanation of the Stative is much more comprehensive than Buccellati’s, but some have not been convinced and persist in arguing that the Stative is a finite verb. Most notably, Kouwenberg took up the issue of categorising the Stative in a lengthy article in 2000, concluding that *parvs/pars-* is a finite verb. He criticised Huehnergard for claiming that the Stative is a verbless predicate while recognising that the “active stative” clearly has verbal syntax and requires the special category of *pseudo-verb*.<sup>45</sup> Kouwenberg finds this methodologically unsatisfactory on a synchronic level and thinks Huehnergard’s approach suffers from the same flaw that Kraus’ did; namely, a single morphological paradigm that is semantically split.

Kouwenberg, following Kraus, stated that “a verbal sentence has a finite verb as predicate,” while “a nominal sentence has a member of another word class as predicate, usually, but not necessarily, a noun.”<sup>46</sup> He sought to answer the question of whether the Stative is a verbal or verbless predicate by analysing it morphologically, syntactically, and semantically.

He notes five commonly cited reasons for considering the Stative nominal.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Huehnergard 1987, p. 231.

<sup>41</sup> Huehnergard 1987, p. 232. Cf. Buccellati 1996, p. 354.

<sup>42</sup> Huehnergard 1987, pp. 228–229.

<sup>43</sup> Huehnergard 2011, p. 394; Rowton 1962, p. 235.

<sup>44</sup> Though Buccellati is largely in agreement with Huehnergard, he prefers to view the relatively few lexemes used as what Huehnergard has called “pseudo-verbs” and “Transitive *parsāku*” as “special lexicalized use[s] of the permansive in a transitive sense,” offering no linguistic explanation; Buccellati 1988, p. 180.

<sup>45</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 26.

<sup>47</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, pp. 23–24.



- (1) It has a nominal base, and
- (2) it is functionally equal to a predicate nominative in a nominal clause;
- (3) its base and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person endings are nominal elements;
- (4) it denotes an unchanging state rather than a process, making it functionally parallel to a nominal clause as opposed to the tense of prefix verbs in Akkadian; and
- (5) it is marked as an irrealis situation with the particle *lū*, just as a nominal sentence is.

Referring generally to these points, Kouwenberg states that we would expect these things to be so because the form derived from a nominal form.<sup>48</sup> Specifically concerning the morphological matters in (1) and (3) he notes that diachronically it is doubtlessly correct that they are of nominal origin, yet synchronically (3) is “highly questionable.”<sup>49</sup> Historically, the first and second person suffixes may have been pronominal but they are synchronically verbal endings. The fact that the suffixes mark the subject makes them functionally equivalent to the prefixes of the other verbal forms, with the only difference between the prefixes of other finite verbs and the Stative being the time in which they were developed.<sup>50</sup> He states that since the form is fully inflected (i.e., marked for gender, number and person) it is morphologically finite.

Kouwenberg also compiled syntactic evidence that supports his theory, such as word order and the use of verbal morphemes. The normal word order in Akkadian has the verb in final position, and Statives are always clause final. This is true even when other factors would normally cause the Stative to be in non-final position. For example, in verbless clauses where a pronoun is the subject, the pronoun appears in final position as the predicate precedes it; *e.g.*, *ul bēlti atti*, “you are not my mistress” (CT 8 22b: 8).<sup>51</sup> However, when the Stative is the predicate in a clause with a pronoun as the subject, the Stative takes final position; *e.g.*, *šū-ma šarraq*, “he is a thief himself” (ARM 1, 64: 12).<sup>52</sup> The unwavering clause-final position of the Stative mirrors that of the other finite verbs. Other syntactic evidence includes the fact that ventives and so-called subjunctive markers (though only in restricted environments), which are otherwise confined to verbal forms, appear on the Stative and the existence of “active statives” which take objects, direct and indirect. That the native Akkadian speaker would put verbal morphemes as well as dative and accusative pronominal suffixes on Statives and that Statives are always clause final, just as the finite verbs, is taken by Kouwenberg to indicate that this form was synchronically verbal.

While the “active stative” requires special explanation for those who view the Stative as a verbless predicate, the nominal Stative (i.e., a Stative with a noun base) presents the greatest challenge for those viewing the Stative as a finite verb. Kouwenberg has argued for a semantic difference between the Stative and the predicate nominative in that the former is used for ascriptive states and the latter for equative states. An ascriptive predicate ascribes an attribute or property of the subject, *e.g.*, *John is intelligent* wherein “intelligent” attributively modifies “John.” On the other hand, an equative predicate “identifies the referent of the subject with that of the predicate;

<sup>48</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 27.

<sup>50</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, pp. 27–28.

<sup>51</sup> This is clearly affirmed by Huehnergard 1986, pp. 224–226, Huehnergard 2011, p. 12.

<sup>52</sup> This is the example given by Kouwenberg 2000, pp. 29–30. This was, perhaps, not the best example since the forms of the absolute and the nominal Stative for this noun are identical, but for this word as a Stative, see Ungnad and Matouš 1992, §54b. Also, see Buccellati 1968, p. 6.

the predicate typically consists of a (definite) noun or noun phrase, a pronoun or proper name," *e.g.*, *John is the chairman*. Here both "John" and "the chairman" refer to the same person.<sup>53</sup> Kouwenberg proposes that the predicate nominative is unmarked and useable in every circumstance while the nominal Stative is the marked form and is restricted to ascriptive lexemes and "simple" predicates.<sup>54</sup> He believes that this may explain "the semantic range of the nouns" that are commonly found in this form.<sup>55</sup> If Kouwenberg is correct in this, he has given good reason to consider the nominal Stative syntactically and semantically identical to the adjectival Stative. From this he concludes that, since adjectival Statives are finite verbal forms, nominal Statives must be too. He states that in the Stative form nouns "are no longer nouns" as they have "acquired the grammatical status of verbs."<sup>56</sup> With this line of reasoning, he argues that the nominal Stative is a secondary development branching off from the adjectival Stative.<sup>57</sup>

Concerning the semantics of the form, Kouwenberg recognises that the Stative is parallel to the nominal clause, as it is "tenseless and denote[s] a state rather than an event."<sup>58</sup> But for reasons unstated he considers "semantic criteria... inferior to morphological and syntactic ones as a basis for deciding whether a form is verbal or not."<sup>59</sup> Uncharacteristically, he offers no linguistic support for this claim. Yet, standing on the mount of evidence he gathered for the "finite" morphology and verbal syntax of the Stative, he concluded that while the Stative is not semantically verbal it is nonetheless a finite verb.

### Categorizing a finite verb

Now that we have surveyed the works of Buccellati, Kraus, Huehnergard and Kouwenberg, let us directly address the issue of categorising the Stative as finite or non-finite. We will begin by setting out clear parameters for categorisation, first for a verbal clause and second for a finite verb. The most economical definition for a verbal clause in the ancient Semitic languages is *one that has a finite verb as its predicate*.<sup>60</sup> This, of course, means that the categorisation of the Stative is dependent upon it being finite or non-finite. The standard definition of a finite verb is a form that is morphologically inflected (for person and number), syntactically functions as a predicate, and semantically is marked for tense, (viewpoint) aspect, or mood.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, not all of

<sup>53</sup> The examples are taken from Lyons 1977, vol. 2, pp. 471–472. The quotation is from Kouwenberg 2000, pp. 50–51.

<sup>54</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 52. Cf. Huehnergard 1986, pp. 232–233.

<sup>55</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 51.

<sup>56</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 55.

<sup>57</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 55.

<sup>58</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 31.

<sup>59</sup> Kouwenberg 2010, p. 165. Also, see Kouwenberg 2000, p. 31.

<sup>60</sup> This is the definition used by Kraus 1984, p. 3; Kouwenberg 2000, p. 26; and Illingworth 1990, p. 350.

<sup>61</sup> See Dik 1997, vol. 2, pp. 144–168. "A finite verb (phrase) is a form that can occur on its own in an independent sentence (or main clause); it permits formal contrasts in tense and mood. Non-finite forms of the verb, on the other hand, ... lack tense and mood contrasts," Crystal 1997. Merriam-Webster defines "finite" as "of, relating to, or being a verb or verb form that can function as a predicate or as the initial element of one and that is limited (as in tense, person, and number)."

Semitic studies often take a definition that gives morphological, syntactic, and semantic specifications. For example, "[t]he verb is the grammatical category subject to verbal inflection, i.e., which inflects for actor, for tense, and for



the studies we have just surveyed begin with this definition. Buccellati offered an unfortunately modified version adding (only for Akkadian?) a distinction between “process” and “condition” and noting only “tense” for the semantic requirement. He states that a verbal predicate “describes action” and “contains reference to time specification...”<sup>62</sup> Metzler rightly criticised Buccellati’s unnecessary specifications for a verbal predicate stating that “‘Handlung’ ist *kein* Spezifikum für Verbalität” and that tense “ist desgleichen *kein* Spezifikum der Verbalität.” He points out that finite verbs can also describe conditions and that aspect and mood are equally important for fulfilling the semantic requirement of a finite verb.<sup>63</sup>

In the following, we will examine the morphology, syntax, and semantics of the Stative to see if it truly does match the requirements for being categorised as a finite verb.

### The Morphology and Syntax of the Stative

The first and second person suffixes of the Stative are very similar to their corresponding independent pronouns and are most likely originally related to them.<sup>64</sup> But these suffixes are more than “une forme abrégée des pronoms personnels,” as some have described them.<sup>65</sup> Illingworth has pointed out that there are morphological difficulties with the supposed abridgement of the second masculine singular independent pronoun, and it is perhaps for this reason that Streck has suggested that the second person suffix was made on analogy of the first person suffix.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, some change in what was originally a pronoun is typologically expected in the process of grammaticalisation (lexical item > clitic > affix).<sup>67</sup>

There is some apparent connection between the first and second person suffixes and their corresponding independent pronouns, but not for the third person suffixes. Streck took the absence of corresponding independent third person pronouns to indicate that the third person Statives originally had accompanying nominal or pronominal subjects.<sup>68</sup> The third person singular endings were originally nominal (–*ø* ms and –*at* fs).<sup>69</sup> However, it must be admitted that,

mood,” Reiner 1966, p. 69. Miller (now Miller-Naudé; 1999, p. 3) has defined verbal clauses as having a finite verb, and verbless predications as those that do not indicate tense, aspect, or mood. Also, see Castellino 1962, pp. 94–95.

<sup>62</sup> Buccellati 1996, p. 354.

<sup>63</sup> Metzler 2002, p. 895 n. 150. In a similar vein, Illingworth (1990, pp. 345–346) has criticised Huehnergard’s categorisation of the Stative as a verbless predicate, claiming (1) that he recognised its verbal syntax but did not take that into consideration for categorising the form and (2) that the “apparent implication” of Huehnergard’s 1987 study is that “‘finite verbs’ are defined by their ability to express a ‘process’ rather than a ‘condition’.” However, a careful reading of Huehnergard’s comments reveals that he merely notes that the expression of process is something limited, in Akkadian, to the finite forms, while condition is expressed by the Stative. Huehnergard does not argue that this *makes* the Stative a verbless predicate; he simply points out that semantically the form aligns with verbless predicates over against the (clearly) finite verbal predicates. See Huehnergard 1987, p. 232.

<sup>64</sup> Ungnad 1906, §26b; Cohen 1924, p. 41; Harris 1939, p. 84; Castellino 1962, p. 86; Buccellati 1968, p. 6; and Kienast 1980, pp. 84–86.

<sup>65</sup> Cohen 1924, p. 44.

<sup>66</sup> Illingworth 1990, p. 345; Streck 1995, p. 187.

<sup>67</sup> Hopper and Traugott 2003, pp. 140–143. This is explained in part by the “fusional” nature of Akkadian; see Leong 1994, p. 251. Also, see Kurylowicz 1972, pp. 56–57.

<sup>68</sup> Streck 1995, p. 187.

<sup>69</sup> See Tropper 1999, pp. 183–191. Kouwenberg (2010, p. 180) took the third person Statives as the forms that gave rise to the analogical “emergence of the first- and second-person forms *šalmāku*, *šalmāta*, etc.” since they presuppose

at least on a synchronic level, the third feminine plural ending appears to be verbal, since it is the same as the third feminine verbal ending ( $-\bar{a}$  and *iprusā*), while the third masculine plural ending ( $-\bar{u}$ ) is synchronically ambiguous, as the nominal and verbal endings are identical. Kurylowicz considered both third plural endings verbal, which he took to be substantial evidence that the verbal notion of the Stative is the “primary function” of the form.<sup>70</sup> Kouwenberg noted that they could have come from a reduced form of the plural adjective endings,  $-\bar{u}tum$  and  $-\bar{a}tum$  respectively, though he prefers the conclusion of Kurylowicz because it explains not only the absence of  $-t$  on the third feminine plural, but also the “divergence in words with *e*-colouring such as *ṣehru* ‘small, young’ between the plural adjective *ṣehrētu* and the stative *ṣehrā*.”<sup>71</sup> Hasselbach recently suggested that the  $-\bar{u}$  and  $-\bar{a}$  plural endings were original to the verbal system and the predicative construction in Proto-Semitic and that they influenced the nominative external plural endings on nouns, though the feminine plural became  $-\bar{a}t$  as */t/* spread from the feminine singular, being reanalysed as a feminine marker.<sup>72</sup> If Hasselbach is correct, then the Stative third plural endings are clearly derived from the verbal endings, not nominal.<sup>73</sup> But it should be noted that, according to this view, the plural nominal endings,  $-\bar{u}$  and  $-\bar{a}(t)$ , would then also be ultimately derived from the third plural verbal endings.

Since there is no clearly parallel set of related morphological endings for all the Stative suffixes (as they have come from nominal, pronominal, and verbal endings) and there is typological evidence for the grammaticalisation of pronouns to clitics to affixes, it seems best to consider them “actor-affixes” that have similar function to the affixes of the Preterite, Perfect, and Durative.<sup>74</sup> In support of this notion, Illingworth has noted several syntactic difficulties when the suffixes are taken as enclitic pronouns. One is that in negated interrogatives such as *ana mīnim ṣeʾum lā nadin* (“Why is the grain not given?”), the sentence no longer makes sense if *ana mīnim ṣeʾum* is taken as a casus pendens. Another difficulty is that in certain texts there would be as many as three casus pendens. He gives the following example:

AbB 6, 70:19-21 *u mārū PN ša elišu iṣū anākū-ma emdēku*

“and (as to) PN’s sons, (as to) that which is owed (them) by him (a third party), (as to) myself, I have been charged (with its repayment),”

“the existence of a predicative 3ms *šalim(-)* or perhaps *šalima(-)*.”

<sup>70</sup> Kurylowicz 1972, p. 93.

<sup>71</sup> Kouwenberg 2000, p. 57.

<sup>72</sup> Hasselbach 2007, pp. 131–135.

<sup>73</sup> It would also argue against the recent reconstruction of the PS suffix conjugation by Tropper (1999, p. 179) that the 3mp Stative ending was nominal and that the original 3fp ending was  $-\bar{a}t$  ( $>\bar{a}$ ). Of course, Tropper is not alone in thinking the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural Stative endings were originally nominal, e.g., Haelewyck 2006, p. 125.

<sup>74</sup> Quote from Reiner 1966, p. 97. Leong attributes this to the “fusional” nature of Akkadian, Leong, 1994, p. 251. Even if all the endings were all originally pronominal suffixes, it cannot be taken for granted that synchronically the syntax of the form is (still) Predicate (base) – Subject (pronominal suffix); see Loesov 2012, p. 81. Note the comments of Metzler: “In the attested written era of Akkadian, the forms are attested in this new shape, in which the pronominal and nominal elements *have become* finite endings – that they *had not been* originally such, stands beyond question” (German original: “In der schriftlich bezeugten Epoche des Akkadischen sind die Formen in dieser neuen Gestalt bezeugt, in der die pronominalen und nominalen Elemente zu finiten Endungen *geworden sind* – daß sie solche nicht ursprünglich *gewesen waren*, steht außer Frage”), Metzler 2002, p. 897. Also, see Kouwenberg 2000, pp. 26–27.

which is not impossible, but nevertheless seems unlikely.<sup>75</sup> In light of the evidence, it is better to consider the suffixes grammaticalised affixes that inflect for person, number and gender.<sup>76</sup> Some might think that this only applies to the first and second person (singular and plural) and the third person plural forms. But, the third person singular endings, though nominal in origin, have also become “actor affixes”, as these forms are able to bear verbal morphemes such as the ventive (masculine and feminine) and the subjunctive (masculine).<sup>77</sup> Ultimately, it must be acknowledged that the morphological requirement for finite categorisation is met.

The Stative has several syntactic features that seem to make it verbal. First of all is that it always functions as a predicate, no matter if it constitutes a dependent or independent clause. This is what distinguishes the form from the Verbal Adjective (*parsum/paris-*) in that the Stative “is primarily used in predicative function,”<sup>78</sup> syntactically marking it as a verb. Other verbal syntactic features include the use of (otherwise) verbal morphemes such as the ventive and the subordination marker (i.e., the so-called subjunctive), though only in restricted circumstances,<sup>79</sup> and dative and accusative pronominal suffixes.<sup>80</sup> There is also the so-called active use of the Stative, though it is important to note that the “active stative” differs from other transitive verbs in the Stative only in voice, as it remains a resultative.<sup>81</sup> The use of the paronomastic construction with an Infinitive and a Stative

ARM 4, 34:14 *damāqum-ma damqū*

“(they) are very good,”

and the invariable word order, which is always clause final, further indicate the verbal syntax of the Stative. Although there is disagreement over the significance of some of these features for categorisation, the most important syntactic feature of the Stative is that it always predicates.

### The nature of the Stative: verbal or nominal?

Now that we have discussed the morphological and syntactic nature of the Stative we are in position to establish whether or not the Stative is truly a verb or not. The Stative undoubtedly originated from a nominal construction, but the question is whether it remained so throughout the history of written Akkadian. That the Stative has “actor affixes” and always predicates are strong evidence for its verbal nature, but there is also typological evidence that has not yet been brought to bear on the issue.

<sup>75</sup> Illingworth 1990, p. 367.

<sup>76</sup> For more on the process of grammaticalisation in the Stative endings, see Kouwenberg 2000, pp. 27–28.

<sup>77</sup> See Kouwenberg 2010, p. 233.

<sup>78</sup> Dik 1997, vol. 1, p. 194.

<sup>79</sup> See Kouwenberg 2010, p. 233; Buccellati 1968, pp. 3–4; Reiner 1966, p. 97.

<sup>80</sup> This is acknowledged by Huehnergard 1987, p. 231. Streck (1995, p. 187), however, attributes these features to its function as a predicate and not “einen angeblich verbalen Charakter.”

<sup>81</sup> Kouwenberg (2010, pp. 174–176) and Loesov (2012, pp. 83–143) have gathered evidence that suggests that some transitive verbs in the Stative developed new meanings in place of their original resultative sense. This, however, can in no way be said of Statives of adjectival roots and thus does not apply to the form as a whole. Thus, these and Statives with lexicalised meanings are excluded from this study.

Linguistic typology of ‘property’ type intransitive predications, as developed by Leon Stassen, offers clear affirmation that the Stative is in fact a verb. Stassen divided intransitive predications into four categories (event, class, locative, and property). The following table offers examples of these four categories of intransitive predication in English and in Akkadian.<sup>82</sup>

Category	English	Akkadian
Event	John walks	<i>illik</i> he/she walked
Class	John is a carpenter	<i>šar</i> or <i>šarrum šū</i> he is a king
Locative	John is in the kitchen	<i>ina ālim šū</i> he is in the city
Property	John is tall	<i>dan</i> he is strong

The first three have proto-typical encoding strategies for predication in the world’s languages. The ‘event’ category has a proto-typical verbal strategy which means that it is “non-supported, and includes person agreement...”<sup>83</sup> The ‘class’ category has proto-typical nominal strategies that are supported by a zero copula or pronominal copula.<sup>84</sup> ‘Locatives’ are also supported and have proto-typically nominal strategies. However, the ‘property’ category, into which adjectives fall, does not have its own proto-typical encoding strategy. Rather, it uses one or another of the other three strategies. If ‘property’ predicates take on a nominal strategy (either that of ‘class’ or ‘locative’), it is considered ‘nouny,’ and if they take on the verbal strategy (that of ‘event’), it is considered ‘verby.’ But its selection of a nominal strategy or the verbal strategy is not random. Stassen has demonstrated that there is a ‘Tensedness Parameter’ that determines whether predicate adjectives employ a nouny or verby strategy. The pertinent portion of the principle is as follows: “If a language is non-tensed, it will have verby adjectives” and “If a language has verby adjectives, it will be non-tensed.”<sup>85</sup>

Since the verbal system of OB Akkadian is aspectual or aspect-prominent, it is considered non-tensed. Thus we would expect, based on this linguistic typology, for Akkadian to have verby predicate adjectives, marked for person and number and unsupported by any copula (zero or pronominal), and that is exactly what we find.<sup>86</sup> This strongly suggests that the Stative should not be analysed as a construction consisting of a base, a subject pronoun, and a zero copula. Based on this typological evidence, we must conclude that the Stative, being morphologically marked for person, number, and gender, and also unsupported by any copula, clearly

<sup>82</sup> The English examples were given by Stassen 1997, p. 12, and the English side of the table contents is adapted from Cook 2008, p. 6.

<sup>83</sup> Stassen 1997, p. 121.

<sup>84</sup> The predication of “class” in Akkadian exhibits what is called “pattern-switching”, meaning that it utilises more than one strategy for predication. In the Stative, the “event” strategy is used, while in the copular construction the proto-typical “class” strategy is used. Huehnergard and Kouwenberg have pointed out that the difference between these two is that the nominal Stative is marked while the copular construction is unmarked; Huehnergard 1987, pp. 232–233; Kouwenberg 2000, p. 52.

<sup>85</sup> Stassen 1997, p. 357.

<sup>86</sup> It should be mentioned that, as Huehnergard has observed (1986, pp. 221, 230), while not every predicative adjective appears in the Stative they “almost invariably” do. For this reason, only the Stative form was given as an example.

matches the verbal strategy and should be “treated on a par with verbs.”<sup>87</sup> This, which to our knowledge has not yet been pointed out in the literature, typologically affirms the verbal nature of the Stative.

### Tense, Aspect, and Mood and the Stative

Now that we have established that the Stative is a verb, let us return to the question of whether or not the Stative is finite. The Stative unquestionably meets the morphological and syntactic qualifications for categorisation as a finite verb in Akkadian because it is inflected (for person, number and gender) and always functions as a predicate. According to Kouwenberg, the semantics of the form is the least significant for categorisation (see above), but by definition a finite verb must meet the morphological, syntactic, *and* semantic requirements. In order for the Stative to be a finite verb it must be marked for tense, (viewpoint) aspect, or mood.

In the older literature the ventive (sometimes called the “allative”) and the so-called subjunctive were considered moods.<sup>88</sup> But it is now widely recognised that other terms should be applied to these morphemes<sup>89</sup> and that “mood” should be reserved for the expression of modality.<sup>90</sup> In Akkadian, modality is usually expressed via mood; that is, words or phrases that are marked for mood. The particle *lū* marks both nominal clauses and Statives as irrealis.<sup>91</sup> The irrealis Stative is commonly found in the greeting in OB letters.

AbB 1, 4:4-6 *šamaš u marduk aššumīya dāriš ūmi liballiṭūka lū šalmāta lū baṭāta*

“May Shamash and Marduk keep you alive forever for my sake! May you be well! May you be healthy!”

Without the *lū* particle, however, the Stative (and the nominal clause) is unmarked for mood.

AbB 1, 26:3-5 *bēlki u bēletki liballiṭūki mārātki šalmat*

“May your master and your mistress keep you alive! Your daughter is well.”

Even though the Stative of *šalāmum* in each example follows a Precative of *balātum*, the first is desiderative and is marked for irrealis mood, while in the second example it begins the body of the letter by describing a realis situation. Since the Stative appears with (and without) the particle

<sup>87</sup> Stassen 1997, p. 573.

<sup>88</sup> For example, Reiner 1966, p. 71.

<sup>89</sup> For example, GAG §83a “Instead of ‘subjunctive’ it is better, since the West Semitic subjunctive has very different functions, to use the description ‘subordinate,’ as I have suggested...” (German original: “Statt ‘Subjunktiv’ sollte man, da der westsem. Subjunktiv ganz andere Funktionen hat, besser die Bezeichnung ‘Subordinativ’ verwenden, wie ich ... vorgeschlagen habe”). Castellino points out that “[i]n all the languages under study [i.e., Afro-asiatic languages] one finds a form of command, the ‘imperative,’ and in many languages some form of ‘dependent’ clause with a special verbal expression, usually called ‘subjunctive’ or ‘relative.’ But if the facts are analyzed more closely it becomes apparent that instead of ranging these verbal expressions under the head ‘modes’ it would perhaps be better just to speak of varying ‘sentence-types,’” 1962, pp. 73–74.

<sup>90</sup> Modality is expressed in two ways in the world’s languages: mood and modal systems. Modal systems are based on lexical items that express modality (e.g., *would*, *might*, etc.). Mood is basically a binary system of realis: irrealis or indicative: subjunctive; Palmer 2001, p. 4.

<sup>91</sup> For discussion of the asseverative and directive functions of *lū* + Stative in OB, see Cohen 2005.

*lū* in the nominal, adjectival, and verbal (i.e., of a fientic verb) in OB, showing that the expression of an irrealis state is not limited by the lexical semantics of the root,<sup>92</sup> it seems unnecessary to increase examples of this well-known phenomenon.

The Stative is widely recognised, even by those who consider the Stative a finite verb, as a form unmarked for tense.<sup>93</sup> It always denotes a state or condition, even when the state is the result of a previous event. The state might imply a previous event but the situation described by the Stative does not refer to that prior event. Because the Stative does not denote a specific location in time, the situation's time is dependent on the context. Its "default" time is the same as the speech or reference time. The Stative most often occurs in the present

AbB 1, 26:13-16 *ālum ša wašbāku mimma ālim*<sup>94</sup> *lalē ul ibašši-ma ul ušabbalakkim*

"(Concerning) the city where I am, there are no luxuries; so I cannot send (any) to you"

but it does also occur in the past

AbB 1, 8:8-10 *inūma tušū maršāta-ma pīya ul ēpušakkum*

"When you went out, you were sick, and I did not speak to you"

and future (though this is not as common)<sup>95</sup>

AbB 9 117:10-11 *ištu inanna 5 ūmī ina GN wašbāku*

"I will (still) be in GN five days from now."

That the Stative is unmarked for tense is (rightly) assumed in the literature,<sup>96</sup> so we will not amass examples to show what is already accepted.

The Stative is clearly unmarked for mood and tense, but some have recently suggested that it has aspect. *Situation aspect* and *phasal aspect* are important in linguistic analysis, but not helpful for categorising a finite verb.<sup>97</sup> For that, only *viewpoint aspect* is meaningful. Viewpoint aspect refers to the way a situation is viewed. It is either externally viewed as a whole (perfective) or viewed from within the situation (imperfective).<sup>98</sup> In order to meet the semantic qualification for categorising a finite verb, the form must be marked for perfective or imperfective viewpoint aspect.

<sup>92</sup> See Leong 1994, pp. 242–243.

<sup>93</sup> For example, the following: "Le permansif exprime la durée sans distinction de moment," Cohen 1924, p. 44. "[T]he permansive (stative) remains outside any system that makes action and tense its basic categories," Goetze 1942, p. 4. "It will readily be noted that the tenselessness of the stative is really the same which is encountered in the case of the nominal sentence... The stative never came to express temporal relationship in Akkadian precisely because its grammatical structure was essentially different from that of the tenses," Buccellati, 1968, p. 7. "Semantically, the stative and the nominal sentence are parallel in that they are tenseless and denote a state rather than an event," Kouwenberg 2000, p. 31. Castellino notes that the Stative has no tense and questions why it is even included among the verbal tenses in the grammars 1962, pp. 94–95. See also, Metzler 2002, pp. 595–644; Leong 1994, pp. 243, 252–253; Huehnergard 1987, pp. 230–232.

<sup>94</sup> The occurrence of this word is probably an error and is not translated; see Kraus 1964, p. 21 n. 26b.

<sup>95</sup> Leong 1994, p. 243; Metzler 2002, p. 892.

<sup>96</sup> Illingworth is a recent exception, but we will address his perspective below.

<sup>97</sup> For more on these kinds of aspect, see Michaelis 1998.

<sup>98</sup> Comrie 1976, p. 16.



Illingworth has suggested that the Stative does at times denote perfective viewpoint aspect.<sup>99</sup> The examples he cites to demonstrate his suggestion, consisting of OB contracts and letters, are mostly Statives in past time. Throughout his discussion he tends to overlap semantic categories and by the end he strongly suggests that the Stative is aspectually perfective, temporally past and also, at times, a perfect (i.e., functionally equal to the Perfect, *iptaras*).

Although he gives a few examples of Statives that might “be suspected” of referring to past events and not conditions resultant from the past events, he finds better evidence in legal texts.<sup>100</sup> He gives the following example and translation:

VAB 5, 148:12-15 *ina libbi ½ šiqil kaspam ina qāti PN<sub>1</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> mahir*

“As part payment, PN<sub>2</sub> has [sic] received half a shekel of silver from PN<sub>1</sub>.”<sup>101</sup>

He argues that from a legal standpoint “[w]hat matters ... is that the transaction has taken place at a certain point in the past (‘PN received such-and-such’), not that the item received is being kept, which would be the state resulting from the transaction concerned (‘PN is in possession of such-and-such’).”<sup>102</sup> One difficulty with Illingworth’s approach is that he seems to think that keeping the item is required in order for a condition to be relevant at the time of the contract. But clearly the issue is not whether the one who previously received payment still has it or not. What matters legally is that the one who received payment is in the “state-of-having-received-payment” at the time of the contract.<sup>103</sup> Contrary to the claims of Illingworth, *mahir* in VAB 5, 148:15 does not refer to a past event, but rather describes a current legal condition.<sup>104</sup> The Stative often refers to a present time condition that has legal significance in the legal texts.

CT 8 48a:11-14 *ina warkūt ūmim mamman mimma eli PN ul išu ullul*

“In the future, no one has any (claim) against PN. He is declared free.”

CT 4 31b:6-8 *qāti PN<sub>1</sub> u PN<sub>2</sub> nashā-ma*

“The claim(s) of PN<sub>1</sub> and (that of) PN<sub>2</sub> are withdrawn.”

<sup>99</sup> Illingworth, of course, is not alone in this as other have suggested that the Stative is, at times, used as a perfect or perfective. For example, Castellino has stated that transitive and intransitive verbs (as well as “intensives and šafel conjugations”) are “generally a passive value,” and that “any action must actually be at work in permansive and therefore it is considered in its ‘perfective’ aspect. So *paris* means ‘has been decided, it is fixed’ because the action is considered as having taken place and as lasting in its effect...” 1962, p. 93. In his description of the WPA dialect Canaano-Akkadian Izre’el (2005, p. 35) says that the Stative has “past implicature for transitive semantemes, present or habitual implicature for stative semantemes, and future or resultative implicature in specific syntactic or semantic environments.”

<sup>100</sup> Illingworth 1990, p. 371.

<sup>101</sup> Illingworth 1990, p. 372. The word “has” is penned in above the line.

<sup>102</sup> Illingworth 1990, p. 372.

<sup>103</sup> Rowton 1962, pp. 291–294; Kouwenberg 2010, pp. 172–173.

<sup>104</sup> In her examination of Aramaic and cuneiform legal traditions, Cussini has shown that where Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian legal contracts have a Stative (often *mahir*) to indicate payment receipt, the Aramaic texts use the participle. The Samaria contracts offer אטיר מכר (*paid, received*) and the “standard Aramaic payment receipt formula,” also found in the Samaritan contracts, makes use of מקבל (e.g., כספא ונה לא מקבל אנה מנכי *I am not in receipt of [lit. I am not receiving] this silver from you*). She considers this use of מקבל to be “a calque of Neo-Babylonian *mahir*,” Cussini 1992, p. 176. If the Statives in the Akkadian payment receipts were understood as past events, surely the suffix conjugation would have been employed in the corresponding Aramaic clauses. But since the participles are used, it is clear that they were trying to indicate current conditions.

These are just two of many examples that show that the current *condition* is what has legal weight. An illustrative example comes from a contract of partnership dissolution. The text describes the process of dissolution, which involved going before the judges and paying the money lender in the temple of Shamash before the division of assets.

BAP 78:9-15 *ištēn wardum PN<sub>1</sub> išteat amtum PN<sub>2</sub> zītti PN<sub>3</sub> ištēn wardum PN<sub>4</sub> išteat amtum PN<sub>5</sub> zītti PN<sub>6</sub> zīzū*

“One servant, PN<sub>1</sub>, one maidservant, PN<sub>2</sub>, is the share of PN<sub>3</sub>. One servant, PN<sub>4</sub>, one maidservant, PN<sub>5</sub>, is the share of PN<sub>6</sub>. They (i.e., PN<sub>3</sub> and PN<sub>6</sub>) are divided.”

In this legal setting, the business partners are now divided (i.e., “in-a-state-of-being-divided”).<sup>105</sup> The current condition is the legally pertinent issue. After this, the contract describes their swearing and stipulations of future business relations, but does not return again to the division of assets.

Illingworth also claims that “verbs referring to events of short duration,” such as *mahārum*, *leqūm*, and *ṣabātum* are often used “as though they were preterites or perfects,”<sup>106</sup> and suggests that the Statives of this kind of verb are also used as a future perfect. He offers the following example:

AbB 2, 135:4 *ana 10 ūmī kašdāki*

“In ten days’ time I will reach you”

“(Or future perfect: ‘I will have reached you within ten days?’)”

There certainly is a difficulty with translating this clause into English since the situation is located in the future and thus the verb used, in English, is a future (perfect) (“will [have] reach[ed]”). But the fact that it is difficult to translate the Stative into English in certain circumstances, particularly when idiomatic English would use tense to express the situation, does not mean that we should read tense or aspect into the Stative. In this example, the Stative denotes the “state-of-arrival” which is located in the future by the prepositional phrase. Even the example that seems most strongly to support his position does not provide clear evidence for the use of the Stative to denote anything but a condition.

AbB 7, 106:19-21 *awīltum ... ana mutiša 2 mārī aldat*

“The woman ... has borne two sons for her husband.”

This does not refer to a past action; it is a state the woman is in that has circumstantial ramifications. Although it is awkward to translate into English, the clause denotes “The woman ... is in-the-state-of-having-borne two sons for her husband.”<sup>107</sup> Illingworth has failed to see the significance of the expression of condition in the letters and the legal texts and has imposed tensed and aspectual readings on them.

<sup>105</sup> Huehnergard (2011, p. 280) glosses this as “they have made the division,” but that renders *zīzū* as an active perfective. It is better, however, to take this as a passive of a transitive verb.

<sup>106</sup> Illingworth 1990, p. 373.

<sup>107</sup> The awkwardness of translating states into modern languages has influenced the way that some scholars understand the semantics of the form; e.g., Kraus 1984, pp. 11–12; Loesov 2012, pp. 89–90.

Finally, Illingworth's suggestion that the "use of the stative with verbs such as *maḥāru(m)* as though it were a past tense might be a relic of early Semitic use of the suffix-conjugation as a past tense"<sup>108</sup> is based on his argument that the PS suffix-conjugation was a past tense which remained so in WS but was changed in Akkadian into a "timeless" form under the influence of Sumerian.<sup>109</sup> He offers this explanation in spite of the fact that, according to his own confession, Eblaite has no Stative that functions as a past tense.<sup>110</sup> There are numerous problems with this reconstruction of the PS suffix-conjugation from a comparative Semitic perspective, which would take us too far afield to address at this point, but let us note that Illingworth's suggestion also goes directly against the grain of typological evidence for the unidirectional evolution of resultative forms becoming perfects and finally aspectually perfective or past tense forms. According to Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, the evolution of a past tense into a resultative "is unknown."<sup>111</sup>

Although Illingworth raises several important issues in his discussion of the Stative, he has not in any way demonstrated that the Stative has perfective aspect or past tense.

Another more recent claim on the aspect of the Stative was made by Kouwenberg. He asserts that the Stative is a finite verb, but at the same time recognises that the Stative and the nominal predicate are semantically parallel and notes that "the stative has imperfective aspect, since it does not envisage the beginning or the end of the state."<sup>112</sup> Unfortunately, he does not explain the impact this has on describing the form. The Stative, like the nominal predicate, is a predicate that denotes a static situation, which "is one that is conceived of as existing, rather than happening, as being homogeneous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration."<sup>113</sup> As such, it fits the *non-progressive, continuous* category of imperfective aspect which views the situation (i.e., state/condition) as ongoing without change.<sup>114</sup> There is no doubt that Kouwenberg is correct in stating that the Stative "has imperfective aspect," but, for purposes of categorising the form as finite or non-finite in Akkadian, the question is whether the Stative is marked or unmarked for imperfective viewpoint aspect.

Situations described by a Stative or a nominal predicate are states. No matter whether the state phase remains for a short or long period of time, the situation denoted by the predicate remains the same throughout the phase. An example of such a state phase appears often in OB legal texts:

CT 8 48a:8-10 *PN<sub>i</sub> adi baḫtat ittanašši-ši-ma*

"PN<sub>i</sub> shall take care of her (i.e., PN<sub>2</sub>) as long as she is alive..."<sup>115</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Illingworth 1990, pp. 374–375.

<sup>109</sup> Illingworth 1990, pp. 391–413. For more on the possible influence of Sumerian on the Akkadian Stative, see Zólyomi 2011, p. 400.

<sup>110</sup> Illingworth 1990, p. 375. It is also worth noting that the Stative and the Old Egyptian "pseudo-participle" may be reflexes of the same Afroasiatic form; see Castellino 1962, p. 86.

<sup>111</sup> Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 12. On unidirectionality, also see Croft 2003, pp. 228–230.

<sup>112</sup> The quote is from Kouwenberg 2010, pp. 163–164; see also Kouwenberg 2000, p. 31.

<sup>113</sup> Lyons 1977, vol. 2, p. 483. Cf. Comrie 1976, p. 49.

<sup>114</sup> Comrie 1976, pp. 24–26, 48–51; Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 127.

<sup>115</sup> Also see CT 2 35:5–8; CT 8 5a:15; BE 6/1 96: 9–11; CT 6 37a: 13–14.

There are also instances in which the duration of the state phase is explicitly stated in an adverbial phrase:

AbB 4, 160:27-29 *PN<sub>1</sub> MU<sub>5</sub>.KAM eriš-ma warkānum PN<sub>2</sub> ina emūqim ikim-šu*

“PN<sub>1</sub> cultivated (lit. “was-in-the-state-of-cultivating”) (the field) for five years, afterwards PN<sub>2</sub> took (it) from him by force.”

But the Stative cannot refer to situations that have any other kind of imperfective aspect such as habitual, progressive, or iterative situations. The Durative (*iparras*), however, is a form that is marked for imperfective aspect as it can express several different kinds of imperfectively viewed situations, *e.g.*, simple present, simple future, circumstantial, habitual and even modal situations.<sup>116</sup> The Durative and the Stative are thus semantically distinguished, as the former is marked for imperfective aspect while the latter is aspectually unmarked.<sup>117</sup> Lipinski has already pointed out that the Durative and the Preterite are marked for imperfective and perfective aspect respectively, while the Stative is aspectually unmarked, and he offers the term “static aspect” to describe the form.<sup>118</sup> Similarly, Leong has described the form as having “stative aspect.”<sup>119</sup> Lipinski is certainly correct in stating that the Stative is “aspectually unmarked,” but the terminology he and Leong use (“static” and “stative”) is problematic, because in the literature these terms are usually reserved for a kind of situation aspect. In light of this, we prefer to describe the Stative as having *non-progressive, continuous* aspect. Since the Stative is not marked for mood, tense, or viewpoint aspect, it does not semantically qualify as a finite verb.

Loesov has recently taken Kouwenberg’s conclusion that the Stative is a finite verb and attempted to fit it into a cross-linguistic category of verbal semantics. His study seeks to understand the uses of transitive verbal roots in the Stative, and his starting point is that the Stative “formed from telic roots is a finite verb form that expresses a trivial state resulting from the action designated by the respective root.”<sup>120</sup> He then goes on to precisely define what a resultative verb form is and does, and then holds that as a standard against the Stative. His conclusion is that the Stative of verbal roots is not always resultative, and it often has a “past-time dynamic” meaning.<sup>121</sup> The examples he uses in attempt to prove his claim are not different in essence from Illingworth’s, and some have already been better explained by Kouwenberg as states. Loesov’s study is detailed and extensive but he is searching for verbal semantics, which simply are not there.<sup>122</sup> The use of the Stative does not fit into the typologically recognised verbal categories, as already noted by Kouwenberg, and as a form it clearly does not fit the typological starting point of the anterior path (resultative > perfect > perfective/past), which could only be suggested for verbal roots.

<sup>116</sup> Huehnergard 2011, pp. 98–99. Comrie 1976, pp. 24–40. On the relationship of future time and modality, see Palmer 2001, pp. 104–106.

<sup>117</sup> Lipinski 1997, p. 337.

<sup>118</sup> Lipinski 1997, p. 337.

<sup>119</sup> Leong 1994, pp. 32, 226.

<sup>120</sup> Loesov 2012, p. 75. His corpus includes OA and OB; for details on his corpus, see pp. 76–77.

<sup>121</sup> Loesov 2012, p. 86.

<sup>122</sup> It is possible that in later dialects of Akkadian, the Stative begins to develop different semantics (see Kouwenberg 2010, p. 176), but, again, the dialect in focus here is OB.

## Conclusions and implications

The conclusion of this study is that the Akkadian Stative is a non-finite verb. The existing literature has so far failed to accurately describe and/or categorise the form. On the one hand, Buccellati and Huehnergard failed to recognise the significance of the affixes in that they are not just enclitic pronouns, which is especially limpid in light of the third person suffixes. In addition, we have shown that recent linguistic research offers a new insight into the issue of the categorising the Stative by typologically affirming the verbal nature of the form.<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, Kraus, Kouwenberg, and others have failed to analyse the Stative by the established criteria for finite verbs in the ancient Semitic languages. There are morphological, syntactic, *and* semantic requirements for categorising a finite verb in ancient Semitic. A finite verb must (1) be morphologically inflected, (2) function as a predicate, and (3) be marked for T/A/M. The Stative is clearly inflected and always predicates, but, despite recent claims, it is unmarked for tense, (viewpoint) aspect and mood. Therefore, it cannot be categorised as a finite verb.

In conclusion, the Stative is a non-finite verb that (exactly like a nominal predicate) denotes situations with *non-progressive, continuous* aspect. It is a unique form that is distinct from the finite forms (Preterite, Durative, and Perfect) in that it is unmarked for T/A/M. This study has argued that, from a linguistic standpoint, the Stative should be treated as a non-finite verb in grammatical sketches rather than being included among the finite verbs or subsumed into separate sections under nominal and pronominal headings.

Yet there are also significant implications for the WS suffix conjugation, as it retained its original stative value from PS even after it acquired new senses such as a grammatical perfect and perfective viewpoint aspect.<sup>124</sup> Although accurate description of the use of stative roots in the WS suffix conjugation has not escaped the standard reference works, scholars have had a very difficult time explaining the expression of a state in the *qatal* form. Though the issue involves WS languages in general, philological works regarding Biblical Hebrew (BH) serve as a ready example. Waltke and O'Connor recognised the dilemma,<sup>125</sup> but in self-contradictory fashion insisted that the expression of a state in *qatal* is perfective.<sup>126</sup> Others have simply excluded the stative uses of *qatal* from their studies and avoided the issue altogether!<sup>127</sup>

But in the light of the precise semantics of the Stative in Akkadian, we are better suited to explain the stative use of its corresponding form (\**qatVla*) in WS and specifically in BH. The Akkadian Stative has *non-progressive, continuous* imperfective aspect and the stative use of the suffix conjugation in WS has the same. When \**qatVla* is used to express a state, the stative

<sup>123</sup> This, of course, cannot be held against Huehnergard or Buccellati as this evidence was not available when their studies were conducted.

<sup>124</sup> Huehnergard 2006, p. 6; Kouwenberg 2010, p. 181; Tropper 1995, pp. 492–498, 504–505, 512.

<sup>125</sup> They claimed that “statives present a special set of problems in the perfective form. A stative inherently denotes a situation with an extended internal structure, while a perfective form conceptualizes a situation from without, as a single whole,” Waltke and O'Connor 1990, §30.5.3.

<sup>126</sup> “When a durative state is expressed by a verb with a perfective aspect, the focus may be on the inceptual moment (ingressive perfective) or on both inception and continuation (constative perfective),” Waltke and O'Connor 1990, §30.2.3. Their description relies on Comrie 1976, p. 20, but Comrie also suggests, on the same page, that stative situations are not likely to be expressed by perfective forms.

<sup>127</sup> For example, Gropp 1991, pp. 51–52; Rogland 2003, p. 10; Andrason 2013, p. 7 n. 2.

semantics (i.e., *non-progressive, continuous* imperfective aspect) belong to the form and not the lexical root alone. This means that there is no reason to search for a single semantic meaning from which all the uses of the *\*qatVla* form stem. A complicating factor in WS, for the dialects that retain the distinction between stative and non-stative uses, is that a stative root in the suffix conjugation can express a state (by retention of the PS Stative) or a change-of-state (by the WS innovation of perfect or perfective aspect). For example, in BH the root גדל used in *qatal* can express a state, “to be big” (as in 1 Sam. 26:24), or a process, “to become big” (as in 1 Kgs. 12:8):

1 Sam. 26:24 הִנֵּה כְּאִשֶּׁר גָּדְלָה נַפְשְׁךָ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֵינַי “and behold, just as your soul was big (i.e., *valuable*) today in my eyes...”

1 Kgs. 12:8 וַיּוֹעֵץ אֶת־הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר גָּדְלוּ אִתּוֹ “and he consulted with the young men who grew up (or *had grown up*) with him”.

The linguistic accuracy and pedagogical value of grammatical and syntactical sketches of BH would be significantly increased if the semantics of the stative use of the suffix conjugation, regardless of time reference, were distinguished from the semantics of its other uses.

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# Notes on an Aramaic fragment of the apocryphal stories in the book of Daniel

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## Abstract

*Towards the end of the 19th century an important Aramaic text was discovered by M. Gaster, who claimed that this was an original text from which Theodotion translated in the pre-Christian period two of the three tales in the book of Daniel, but not contained in the traditional Hebrew/Aramaic form of the text. Though this text has not received much attention it deserves, Gaster's position, we believe, is well founded. Here is a brief discussion of some salient features of the language of this Aramaic text, accompanied by philological observations of the two Daniel passages in Greek as compared with the Aramaic text.*

In scholarship as in many other areas of human activity it occurs from time to time that an opinion expressed by an authority is swallowed without checking, whether it is well founded or not. This impedes the true progress of scholarship. Such appears to have happened to an Aramaic fragment discovered towards the end of the 19th century by Moses Gaster in an Oxford University Library manuscript entitled *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, which formed part of the literary resources of a Rheinland rabbi, Eleazar ben Asher ha-Levi (d. 1325). *The Chronicles*, an anthology of a great variety of ancient Jewish texts, had been put together by a certain Jerachmeel, whom Gaster dates to the 10th century at the latest. Gaster promptly published the fragment with notes,<sup>1</sup> and it subsequently appeared in a three-volume work containing an English translation of the whole corpus.<sup>2</sup> Until then, and even today to a large extent, the majority view was that the three apocryphal passages contained in the Greek text of the book of Daniel—namely, the story of Susanna, the prayer of Azaria, said with his two colleagues in the lions' den (Dn 3.24–25, 46–90), and the story of Bel and the snake (Dn 14.23–42)—were original Greek compositions. Occasionally, dissenting voices were raised claiming that the passages were translations from a now lost Semitic original. Gaster was convinced that he had discovered a Semitic original of these well-known non-canonical stories. Koch, through a meticulous study of the text, concluded that Gaster was, in the outline of his view, correct.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gaster 1894–1895.

<sup>2</sup> Gaster 1925–1928.

<sup>3</sup> Koch 1987. On the relationship between this Aramaic fragment and the Greek versions presumably dependent on them, see Muraoka 2015.

Given the considerable importance of this text and the interest aroused by it we present below a sketch of noteworthy and salient features of the language of this Aramaic fragment, followed by philological notes on the text as compared with the two Greek versions of these fascinating stories.<sup>4</sup>

## A) Orthography

### a) *Scriptio plena*

As one would expect the *plene* spelling is abundantly observed, though the scribe is often inconsistent, as can be seen in מִינַךְ 'from you' 3.29 vs. 3.33 מִנַּךְ. This is one of the features about which we need to be cautious. As briefly mentioned above, this medieval manuscript is most unlikely to be the autograph of the text, which is assumed to date to the pre-Christian era, when this orthographical practice was very much more restrained. *Plene* spellings occur in diverse orthographical, phonological environments.

i) Immediately followed by a doubled consonant: לְמִיטֵר 'to observe' 3.30; מִינְנָא 'from us' 3.35; עִדְנָא 'the time' 3.38; אִילְהֵן 'except' 3.39, 42; לִיבְנָא 'our heart' 3.41; עִימְנָא 'with us' 3.42; אִינּוֹן 'those' Bel 42; צִיפְרִי 'birds of' 3.80; פִּיקוּדִיִּךְ 'your commandments' 3.30 || אִימְרִין 3.29; פִּקּוּדִיִּיא 'lambs' 3.39; תִּיכּוֹל 'you could' Bel 24; שִׁנֵּי 'teeth of' Bel 27; גּוּבָא 'pit' Bel 40.

ii) Waw and Yod with consonantal value: קִימַךְ 'your covenant' 3.30; פַּחוּתָא 'governors' 3.38; עֲלוּן 'burnt-offerings' ib.; קִימִין 'standing' pe. ptc. 3.48; חִיבִין 'sinful' 3.32; אֲרִיִּין 'lions' Bel 32; לִילוּן 'nights' 3.71. Perhaps belong here פִּקּוּדִיִּיא 'the commandments' 3.29, 3.30; אֱלֹהָא חִיִּיא 'the living god' Bel 24.

iii) Short vowels other than *a*: e.g., *i* or *e*—יִקְדָּתָא 'burning' 3.24; תִּימְסֵר 'you hand over' 3.34, Bel 29; שְׁמִיָּה 'his name' 3.26; לְמִיפְתָּח 'to open' 3.33; סִינְגִין 'prefects' 3.38; נִיכְסִין for נִיכְסִין 'offerings' ib.; דִּיכְרִין 'rams' 3.40; דִּיבְחָא 'sacrifice' ib.; שִׁיזִיב 'he saved' 3.43; מִיטְרָא 'the rain' 3.64; צִימְחֵי 'grass of' 3.76; אוּקִיד af. 'it burned' 3.48; אִיִּצְטִנִּין 'it became cool' 3.49; הִיב pe. ptc. 'give' Bel 26; קִרִּיב 'it touched' 3.50; נִיקְטוּל 'we shall kill' Bel 29; אִיתִיְהִיבוּ 'they were given' Bel 32; אִיתְנִיִּיקוּ 'they were harmed' 3.50; מִירְמֵי 'to cast' Bel 42; פּוּמִיָּה 'his mouth' 3.25; קְבִילְנָא 'you commanded.. we received' 3.29; חִיבֵל 'he destroyed' Bel 27; גּוּבְרִין—u Bel 42, 3.46; קוּרְצִיָּה Bel 42; פּוּמִיָּה 'his mouth' 3.25; עוּבְדִּךְ 'your deeds' 3.27; עוּבְדִּיא 'the works' 3.57.

iv) Accented open-syllabic stem vowels in the derived conjugations: בְּרִיכּוֹ 'bless' D impv. mpl. 3.57 *et passim*; אִיתִיְהִיבוּ 'they were given' Bel 32; אִיתְנִיִּיקוּ 'they were harmed' 3.50.

b) Archaising ש in lieu of ס: e.g., שְׁטַנָּא 'we turned away' 3.29, and שְׁעֵרִין 'barley' Bel 27 || 3.32 סְנַאֲרִין 'enemies,' לֹאֲסַנְנָא 'to increase' 3.36, 47, סְגִיָּא 'great' Bel 23.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> References starting with "3." are those for the Prayer of Azariah as found in Chapter 3 of the Greek version of the book of Daniel and those prefixed with "Bel" are for the story of Bel and the snake, printed separately or as Chapter 14 of the Greek book of Daniel.

<sup>5</sup> In view of the second infinitive the Yod of the first one may not be due to the immediately following, geminated consonant.

<sup>6</sup> For שְׁהִידוּתְךָ 'your covenant' 3.34 we prefer שְׁהִידוּתְךָ as read by Yassif (2001, p. 243).



c) Alef as final radical may be retained, but this is most likely an archaising spelling only: סנאין 'enemies' 3.32; 47, 3.36 לאסנאה. By contrast, ביש 'evil, bad' is never spelled with Alef, e.g., 3.32 בישין.

## B) Phonology

In comparison with Biblical Aramaic, the phonological process /word-final -yV/ > /-'V/ appears to be penetrating beyond the nisbe ending: לצליה pro לצלאה 'to pray' 3.25. Likewise לאיתאה af. inf. 3.38, τῷ ἀγαπῶσσι 'to offer'; יומא שביעאה 'the seventh day' Bel 40. But נבייא 3.38 = BA Q נביאה Ezr 5.1, 6.14. So may we interpret 3.36, 47 לאסנאה for לאסניה, an analysis made plausible in view of לאיתאה 'to bring' 3.38, where the verb is not a Lamed-Alef verb, hence definitely < לאיתיה.¶

## C) Morphology

### Ca) Pronouns

#### Caa) Disjunctive pronouns

Sg. *1s* אנא Bel 25; *2ms* את 3.27, 45, Bel 25; *3ms* הוא 3.26; *1pl* אנן 3.33,<sup>7</sup> 3.37 אנחנא

#### Cab) Conjunctive pronouns

	Sg. and f. pl.		M. pl.
	Sg. nouns	Pl. nouns	Pl. nouns
1s	לי Bel 26; ריבוני Bel 35	n/a (= no example attested)	n/a
2sm	מינך 3.29; לך Bel 26	אורחתך 3.27	עבדך 3.33; קדמך 3.41
2sf	n/a	n/a	n/a
3sm	פומיה 3.24; ליה Bel 26	n/a	קדמוהי 3.46; שמוהי Bel 24
3sf	n/a	n/a	n/a
1p	לנא 3.27	אבהתנא 3.26	עלנא 3.28bis
2m	n/a	n/a	n/a
2f	n/a	n/a	n/a
3m	להן 3.36	n/a	בניהן 3.36
3f	n/a	n/a	n/a

Examples such as עבדך 3.27, agreeing with קשיטין, show that the morphophonemic neutralisation of sg./pl. opposition in the 2ms, 3fs, and 1pl as found in the Tiberian tradition of Biblical Aramaic, in which 'your god' and 'your gods,' for instance, are phonetically identical,

<sup>7</sup> A late JA form; at 3.41 in the manuscript misspelt אנא.

is shared by the idiom of our fragment, in which, therefore, ‘your gods’ could be phonetically spelled **אלהך** as well as **אלהיך**. Likewise **דיינך מהימנן** ‘your judgements are trustworthy’ 3.33 and **עבדך** ‘your servants’ 3.33. However, **עלנא** ‘on us’ 3.28 is ambiguous: it could be a phonetic spelling of BA **עֲלֵינָא** Ezr 4.12, 18, 5.17, which is exceptional, or the ending may phonetically be similar to **לנא** listed above, thus the BA morphophonemic rule having now been extended to this preposition. The same applies to cases such as 3.28 **חובנא**, most likely pl. in view of *τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν*. It is important to note, however, that, in BA, the suffix attached to nouns is common to the sg. and pl., thus **אַלְהֵנָא** ‘our god’ Dn 3.17, a reference to the god of Daniel and his colleagues, but also **אַיְתְּנָא** (with Ktiv **איתנא**), a particle which behaves like a m.pl. substantive, just as **דָּם**. At **פיקודיך** ‘your commandments’ 3.30 we have a wild spelling.<sup>8</sup> Emend it to **פיקודך** or archaizing **פיקודיך**.

The final He for 3ms, 3fs appears to have become silent, as shown by anomalous spellings such as **פומי דתנינא** ‘the mouth of the dragon’ Bel 27 for **פומיה דתנינא** and **טיבותיה** for **טיבותיהא** ‘his mercy’ 3.89.<sup>9</sup> This kind of spelling, however, is more likely reflecting the Aramaic of later scribes than that of the original author, as can be judged from an editorial gloss in the manuscript of our text: **אשכחא** for **אשכחה**, i.e., **אַשְׁכַּחַה** ‘he found it.’

The 3ms object suffix attached to a verb ending with a long vowel should appear as **-הי**, but we often find instead **-הי**, possibly under Hebrew influence, as in **הללוהו ורוממוהו** ‘Praise Him and exalt Him’ 3.58 in lieu of **הללוהי ורוממוהי**, though once we do encounter **רמהי** ‘he threw it’ Bel 27, and with substantives and prepositions always like **קדמוהי** ‘before Him’ ib.

#### (Cab) Demonstrative pronouns

Near deixis: m.s. **דין** 3.37, which shorter form is already attested in QA, e.g., 4Q214b (150–50 BCE)<sup>10</sup>; **כדן** ‘thus’ 3.40, cf. **כדן** 1Q20 2.17 || **כדנא** as in BA, **כְּדָנָה** Dn 3.29; c.pl. **אילין** 3.38, **איליין** 3.51.

Far deixis: **אינון גוברין** ‘those men’ Bel 42.

Prefixed with **-הי**: **עידנא הדין** ‘this time’ 3.37; **תנינא הדין** ‘this snake’ Bel 26; **אתרא ההוא** ‘that place’ Bel 23; preceding—**יומא ההוא** ‘that day’ Bel 32. Also used substantively: **האדין** ‘this one’ Bel 3.24.

(Cac) Possessive pronouns: **דיבחא דילנא** ‘our sacrifice’ 3.40; **עבדייא דילך** ‘your servants’ 3.44. Whilst the use of the disjunctive possessive pronoun is solidly attested in Imperial Aramaic as in **בר זילא** ‘a son of his’ and **בבא זילך** ‘your gate’<sup>11</sup> and this is carried over into QA, in Naḥal Hever documents in particular,<sup>12</sup> BA makes a hesitant step in the same direction by using it predicatively in **חִכְמָתָא וְגִבּוּרְתָא דִּי לֵה־הִיא** ‘wisdom and strength are his’ Dn 2.20. Here we have a straightforward case.

<sup>8</sup> Koch (1987, vol. 1, p. 208) vocalises the form **פיקודיך**, which, however, is not Aramaic nor can it be translated “deine Gebote.”

<sup>9</sup> Koch’s (1987, vol. 1, p. 211) **טיבותיהא** is not Aramaic.

<sup>10</sup> See Muraoka 2011, p. 47, n. 89

<sup>11</sup> See Muraoka and Porten 2003, § 40.

<sup>12</sup> See Muraoka 2011, § 59.

## Cad) Relative pronoun

ד and די appear to be freely interchangeable. See 3.29; פקודי די פקידתא לנא דלא קבילנא יתהון 3.29; בדיל דאויט לנא ובדיל די לא עבדנא 3.30.

## Cb) Nouns and adjectives

M.pl.emph. spelled with a double Yod, e.g. עבדייא 3.44; עלמייא 'the ages' 3.52 || עלמייא 3.53; חילייא 'the hosts' 3.61; שמייא 'the heavens' 3.63 || שמיא 3.60; ימייא ונהריא 'the seas and the rivers' 3.77; חצדייא 'the harvesters' Bel 33.

Nisbe lexeme: כשדאי 'the Chaldaeans' 3.48 as in כשדאי Dn 2.10Q (K כשדיא).

## Cc) Verbs

i) Perfect. Personal endings: ידעית Bel 35; מסרתא 'you delivered' 3.32; עבדתא 'you did' 3.28 || עבדת 3.27, 31; יתיבתא 'you sat' 3.54; חבנא 'we sinned' 3.29.

The long spelling, עבדתא, is difficult of interpretation. Is it an archaizing spelling imitating the occasional BA spelling such as תִּקְלְתָה Dn 5.27, חִזְיָתָה Dn 2.41 || חִזְיָתָה 2.43, 45, 4.17? However, BA attests also to a zero-ending as in יִהְבֶּתָה Dn 2.23. See also תברתא .. קטלתא 'you destroyed.. you killed.. and you broke' Bel 28; בשילתא 'you cooked' Bel 34; שבקתא 'you abandoned' Bel 38.

ii) The stative, intransitive pattern in Peal is attested by נסיבו 'they took' 3.46<sup>13</sup>; יכילנא 'we could' 3.33; נחית 'he descended' 3.49; קריב 'it touched' 3.50; יתיבתא 'you sat' 3.54; תקיף 'it was displeasing' Bel 28, 30; מית 'it died' Bel 28.

## iii) Imperfect

yiqtel pe. pattern: תעביד 3.42—the stem vowel is akin to that of TA אַעביד Ex 32.10 TO and Syriac, *te'bed*.

יהא 3.26, 40: it is surprising that the author, purporting to expand on the canonical book of Daniel, refuses to follow the linguistic canon of BA, in which the Impf. prefix Yod of this verb is consistently replaced with Lamed. Not a few authors and copyists of QA documents follow BA here.<sup>14</sup>

Jussive? יהא שמיה משבח 3.26: the spelling יהא, if not an error for יהוא, is what one normally finds in Mishnaic Hebrew: /yhe:/. Likewise 3.40. Such a form occasionally occurs in QA.<sup>15</sup> Likewise vs. 52 below, and see also תהי 3.54. See also לא תעדי 'Let it not pass' 3.34.<sup>16</sup>

Possible archaic preterite value in יציל 3.88 (ἔρκετο). In BA we find imperfects used with preterite value. See also וימות 'and it died' Bel 27 and ויגלול 'and he rolled' ib.

iv) The conjugation of the infinitive is Classical. Thus pe. למיפתח 'to open' 3.33. In derived conjugations /m/ as a prefix is not found nor a suffix /u:/. E.g., לצלאה 'to pray' 3.25 pa.; לאסגאה 'to increase' 3.36, 47; לאשכחא 'to find' 3.38; לאסקא 'to lift up' Bel 42.

## v) Lamed-Yod verbs

The Yod as the third radical may not be written: אעדנא 'we deviated' 3.29 preceded by עוינא 'we committed iniquities' and followed by שטנא 'we turned away.'

<sup>13</sup> Cf. נָסִיב Gn 2.21 TO.

<sup>14</sup> See Muraoka 2011, pp. 132f., 139 (10).

<sup>15</sup> יהי alongside להי, see Muraoka 2011, p. 132.

<sup>16</sup> On the opposition in QA between <Impf. לא תבנה> and <Juss. אל תבני>, cf. Muraoka 2011, pp. 100–102.

Perfect endings: *ʾs* חזיתי 'I saw' Bel 35; *2ms* אייתיתת 'you brought' 3.28<sup>bis</sup>, an error for אייתית; *ʾp* אעדנא 'we deviated' 3.29; *3mp* הוו 3.33; בעו 'they wished' Bel 30; רמו 'they cast' Bel 42. Derived conjugations: *3s* pa. שוי 'he placed' Bel 36, צלי 'he prayed' Bel 37. At הודו 3.51 the irregularly spelled form may be vocalised as הודו.

Impv.: *ms* צלי 'pray' Bel 24; איית 'bring' Bel 34.

Ptc.: *ms* מצלי 'pray' Bel 25, also pe. in עני 'answer' Bel 34; *mp* pe. בעין 'desire' 3.41.

vi) Pe-Alef verbs: the silent Alef is not written, e.g., למימר 'to say' Bel 24, 28; למיתי 'to come' Bel 33; יכלון 'they will eat' Bel 32.

vii) The causative prefix is retained in a participle: מהודין 'they acknowledge' 3.40.

#### D) Morphosyntax and Syntax

i) Demonstrative pronoun attributively used<sup>17</sup>

Following: יומא דין 'this day' 3.37, 40; עידנא הדין 'this time' ib. The demonstrative pronoun compounded with ה- and used attributively is attested in QA, e.g., גנתה הדא 'this garden' NH47b.7.<sup>18</sup>

Preceding: אינון גוברין 'those men' Bel 42.

ii) St. abs. and st. emph. indiscriminately used: *emph. in lieu of abs.*—לית לן לא רב ונבייא ולא פחותא וסיגין ולא עלון וניכסין ומנחתא 'we have no teacher nor prophet, no governors nor prefects, and no burnt offerings nor sacrifices nor oblations' 3.38; קרר וחמימא 'cold and heat' 3.67; קרח 'ice and frost' 3.68<sup>19</sup>; ופתא ושמוניתא וכיתן ושערין 'pitch and fat and flax and barley' Bel 27; *abs. in lieu of emph.*—רמו לתלתא גוברין 'they had cast the three men' 3.46 (emended from רמיו); אינון גוברין 'those men' Bel 42.

iii) Direct object-marker ית

Whilst this particle is not obligatory it is found prefixed not only to personal suffix pronouns, but also to substantives. Thus—

+ suffixes: ית יתי Bel 38; יתך 3.41; יתנא 3.32, 34, 41, 43, 88; יתיה Bel 36.

+ substantives: ית ית 3.24; ית בניהון 'their sons' 3.36; ית תנינא הדין 'this snake' Bel 26; ית תנינא 'you killed the snake' Bel 28; ית דניאל Bel 29, 30, 31, 32, 40.

What needs to be emphasised is that, unlike in Classical Aramaic including Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic,<sup>20</sup> the suffix is also used to mark a direct object 'them' in lieu of a disjunctive personal pronoun אינון or אינין as is the norm in earlier phases of the language, e.g., רמו אנון 'they cast them' Dn 6.25 as against אכלו יתהון .. רמו יתהון Bel 42. E.g., לא קבילנא יתהון 'we did not hearken to them' 3.29; אוקיד יתהון 'it burned them' 3.48; יגלול יתהון 'he rolled them' Bel 27. Already BA, in contrast to המו or אנון, which is the norm there, experiments once with ית + suf. at מניף יתהון Dn 3.12.

<sup>17</sup> See also above under Cab.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Muraoka 2011, pp. 47f.

<sup>19</sup> Gaster (1925–1928, vol. 1, p. 57) emends the second word to קורא.

<sup>20</sup> See Muraoka 2011, § 74 db, pp. 215–217. In Muraoka and Porten 2003, § 74 d n. 1050 we analysed the use of this particle as typical of Old Aramaic and later Western Aramaic.

The use of *it* is not only non-obligatory, but it also freely interchanges with a classical synthetic structure as in *שיזבנא משאול ופריק יתנא מידא דמותא דהא שיזבנא מן אתון נורא יקידתא ומנור* 'He rescued us from Hades and delivered us from the hand of death for he rescued us out of the furnace of the burning fire and out of a burning fire and flames he saved us' 3.88.

As in Classical Aramaic and BA the preposition *Lamed* may mark a direct object as in *לאסקא* 'to lift up Daniel' Bel 42; *רמו לתלתא גוברין* 'they cast three men' 3.46 (emended from *רמו*). It is also used with a participle when its direct object is in the form of a personal suffix: *רחמין לך* 'they love you' Bel 38, postulating a scribal error for *רחמין לך*.

iv) Prolepsis occurs in *הב ליה לדניאל* 'give to Daniel' Bel 34.

The proleptic construction in a nominal phrase is found in *אלהיה דדניאל* 'the god of Daniel' Bel 41; *אכלו קורציה דדניאל* 'they accused Daniel' Bel 42.

v) Analytic syntagm in lieu of the Classical st. cst. phrase is quite extensively employed: e.g., <indet. (י) det.> *דין דקשוט* 'a judgement of fairness' 3.31; <indet. (י) det.> *עבדין דמלכא* 'servants of the king' 3.46; <det. (י) det.> *ידא דסנאין* 'the hand of enemies' 3.32; <det. (י) det.> *אלהא דאבהתנא* 'the god of our forefathers' 3.26, 52; *מלאכא דיי* 'the angel of the Lord' 3.49, Bel 34; *נורא דאתונא* 'the fire of the furnace' 3.49; *מסריקא דברזלא* 'the iron comb' Bel 27; *פום גוב אריוותא* 'the mouth of the lions' Bel 31 || *גוב אריוותא* Bel 34, 40, 42; *נבייא דארעא דישר* 'the prophet of the land of Israel' Bel 33.

On the other hand, the Classical synthetic structure is still much alive, e.g., *כורסא יקר מלכותך* 'the throne of the glory of your kingship' 3.53; *רקיע שמיא* 'the firmament of the sky' 3.56; *ציפרי שמיא* 'the birds of the sky' 3.80; *בני בבל* 'Babylonians' Bel 23; *כהני בל* 'the priests of Bel' Bel 28.

vi) The periphrastic construction <ptc. + הוה> is firmly attested: *with Pf.*—*הוה מבשל* 'he was cooking' Bel 33; *הוה פלחין* 'they used to worship' Bel 23; *הוה יתבין* 'they would give' Bel 32; *הוה קיימין* 'were standing' 3.48; *with Impf.*—*יהא שמיא משבח ומהדר לעלמין* 'may His name be praised and glorified for ever' 3.19; *יהא משבח ומרום* 'may He be praised and exalted' 3.52; *יהון מתכלמין* 'they shall be put to shame' 3.44; *יהון תבירין וידעין* 'may they be smitten and know' ib.

That the non-periphrastic syntagm can be assigned the same value may be seen by comparing *תתהלל* 'may You be blessed and glorified in all ages' 3.54 with *תתבא בעלמין* 'may You be extolled and praised in all ages' 3.56.

vii) *לית* as a negator of a nominal clause: *האדין לית אלהא חייא הוא* 'this one is not the living god' Bel 24.

Now follow some philological observations on this interesting Aramaic text in comparison with the two Greek versions of it.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Muraoka 1966, § 2.4.

<sup>22</sup> The following abbreviations are to be noted:

A = Aramaic or the text of the Aramaic fragment; G = Greek translation of the book of Daniel; S = the Syriac translation of Daniel, the so-called Peshitta; LXX = the so-called Septuagint or Old Greek version of the Greek Daniel; TH = the so-called Theodotion version of the Greek Daniel, which is said by the compiler of the *Chronicles* to have been translated by Theodotion from the Aramaic fragment; BA = Biblical Aramaic; TA = Targumic Aramaic; JA = Jewish Aramaic; JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; JBA = Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; CPA = Christian Palestinian Aramaic; OA = Old Aramaic; EA = Egyptian Aramaic; QA = Qumran Aramaic; pe. = Peal; af. = Afel; pa. = Pael; TJ = Targum Jonathan; TO = Targum Onkelos.





3.33 לית אנן יכולנא: the syntax is anomalous with לית employed instead of לא. The context, however, makes one expect לית אנן יכולנא, a participle.

3.34 μὴ δὲ παραδῶς תימסר מנך די לא בבבעו מנך די לא תימסר: the particle δὲ nicely catches the force of the Aramaic expression, 'we plead with you,' equivalent to Modern Hebrew בִּבְקָשָׁה מִמֶּךָ. Cf. Gn 19.7 TO. לית אנן יכולנא 'Please, now, brothers, don't be rough!' Gn 19.7 TO. לית אנן יכולנא 'altogether, thoroughly,' cf. ἀπολέσαι ἕως τέλους 'to destroy completely' Dn 7.26, ἵνα ἐξολεθρευθῶσιν εἰς τέλος 'so that they will be destroyed ..' Ju 14.13.<sup>28</sup> Cf. לא תזכנ לא תזכנ 'it [= the land] shall never be sold' Lv. 25.23 TO. לא תשכח: if 'you should not forget' is meant, as it appears, it would be a gross Hebraism; for the notion of God forgetting His covenant, see לא יתנשי ית כימא 'He will not forget the covenant' Dt 4.31 TO.<sup>29</sup> This problematic reading was apparently found in the Greek translators' (both TH and LXX) *Vorlage*, and they opted for a synonymous collocation with διασκαδάζω as in μὴ διασκαδάζης (MT תִּפְרֹךְ; TJ תִּפְרֹךְ) תִּהְיֶה דִּיכְתִּיבָהּ סוּס מִלְּךָ מִלְּךָ Jer 14.21. They must have understood this Hebraism and had an option to translate in the manner of their predecessors at οὐκ ἐπιλήσεται τὴν διαθήκην Dt 4.31. סהידותך, a doubly striking spelling with medial Yod and a final, double Waw. The plural can hardly be meant here. We do find סהידותך Ps 119.14 (עֲדוּתֶיךָ), 95 (עֲדוּתֶיךָ), where, however, it is about divine testimonies we are to cherish and contemplate. Thus we suggest an emendation: סהידותך.<sup>30</sup>

3.35 אברהם רחיק: G τὸν ἡγαπημένον ὑπὸ σοῦ identified here a Peal passive ptc., רַחֵיקְךָ.

3.37 עורנא, error for זערנא ἐσμιχρύνθημεν.

3.38 פחותא וסיגנן ἡγούμενος: BA attests to both Aramaic lexemes, whilst neither ἡγούμενος nor ἡγεμών is used to translate them, though they are so used a few times each elsewhere in the LXX. It is difficult to determine which of the two Aramaic words is being rendered here with ἡγούμενος. ¶ עלון וניכסין ומנחתא. ¶ οὐδὲ ὀλοκαύτωσις οὐδὲ θυσία οὐδὲ προσφορά οὐδὲ θυμίαμα. This time we have more Greek words than Aramaic ones. Let it first be remarked that נִיכְסִין 'possessions' is most likely an error for נִסְכִּין, cf. נִסְכֵּיהֶן 'their libations' Ezr 7.17. This Aramaic word was either absent in G's *Vorlage* or was left untranslated. Then we would be left with two Aramaic words for four Greek words. The last, θυμίαμα 'incense, spice,' hardly corresponds to either remaining Aramaic word. עֲלֹן = עלון, pl. of עלוה, occurs in Ezr 6.9 and is rendered ὀλοκαυτώσεις, whilst at its parallel passage in 1E 6.28,<sup>31</sup> θυσία is found. To complicate the matter, at 1E 8.14, which corresponds to Ezr 7.17, we find θυσία for נִסְכֵּיהֶן. In the only other occurrence of מִנְחָה in BA we read מִנְחָה וְנִיחָחִין Dn 2.46, which is rendered θυσίας καὶ σπονδάς LXX and μαννα καὶ εὐωδίας TH. Προσφορά, a generic word for any kind of cultic offering, is used in the LXX to render מִנְחָה (Ps 39.6) and עֹלָה (1E 5.52 = Ezr 3.5) once each. We suggest a tentative equation עלוה = ὀλοκαυτώσεις and מנחה = θυσία. ¶ כל אילין is missing in G and Koch accordingly deletes it,<sup>32</sup> but can be retained: 'all these.' ¶ לאיתאה: the translator justly selected a very generic cultic term ἀρπύω 'to offer any cultic offering.'

<sup>28</sup> For more references, see Muraoka 2009 s.v. τέλος 3 b iii.

<sup>29</sup> Koch's (1987, vol. 1, pp. 208f.) emendation and vocalisation תִּפְרֹךְ תִּפְרֹךְ תִּפְרֹךְ make no sense; his translation reads "mache Deine Bezeugungen nicht ungültig."

<sup>30</sup> On the reading with ס, and not ש, see above on p. 26.

<sup>31</sup> In Muraoka 2010, s.v. θυσία, p. 58b 1E 6.29 should read 1E 6.28.

<sup>32</sup> Koch 1987, vol. 2, p. 208.

3.39 אִילְהִין = אִלְהִין or אִלְהִין. נכאה. The verb root נכ׳ occurs in Peal in the sense of ‘to damage, harm’ in Syriac and Samaritan Aramaic. Our form here appears to be a Peal passive fem. sg., thus נכאה for נכיה.<sup>33</sup> Our translator possibly swapped the two Aramaic verbs; σνντρίβω is one of the commonest equivalents of BH שבר and Nifal כאה is once translated with ταπεινώ, and that in Daniel: נכאה ταπεινωθήσεται II.30TH, and the translator may have seen a Hebraism here. Moreover, נכאה, even if derived from the Aramaic root, is morphologically and morphosyntactically difficult; for attributively qualifying נפשא, f.s.emph., one would have expected נכיתא or נכיתה, but the following רוחה תבירא is not determinative here, since the noun in Aramaic is of common gender.

3.40: for Koch (II 55, 209) vs. 40 in G begins with οὕτως, but we would rather follow the Göttingen edition, for the clause beginning with οὕτως requires a correlative one, which is ὥς ἐν.. καὶ ὥς ἐν.. עלון; Koch<sup>34</sup> reads ἐν ὁλοκαυτώμασιν in lieu of ἐν ὁλοκαυτώσει of the ed. Göttingen. There is no apparent reason for preferring this v.l., when the same Aramaic word corresponds in vs. 38 to ὁλοκαύτως. נכסין, on which see above at vs. 38. לרעוא מן קדמן, a straightforward expression, ‘to your satisfaction,’ but G καὶ ἐκτελέσαι ὅπισθεν σου has led to much ink shed, but little light.<sup>35</sup> יתכלמן, probably tG as in תתכלם Nu 12.14 TO.<sup>36</sup> מהודין widely diverges from G τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ‘those who trust’ = S /tkilin/.

3.41 בעין אנה cannot be right, since the following verb is 1pl., נתבע; the verb can be retained as it is, also in view of G’s ἐξακολουθοῦμεν, and then the pronoun can be emended to אנן, a late form, though elsewhere (3.37) we do encounter the Classical form, אנחנו, which still occurs in QA.<sup>37</sup> G’s selection of ἐξακολουθεῖν is rather free, but the obvious equivalent, ζητέω, is used immediately afterwards. נתבע מן קדמן ζητούμεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σου. G expresses a stance of piety as in ζητούντων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ Iakwb Ps 23.6, ζητήσατε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ [= κυρίου] ib. 104.4 or it means ‘to pursue and value the company of someone’ as in πάντες βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς ἐζητούν τὸ πρόσωπον Σαλωμων 3Kg 10.24. By contrast, A תבע מן קדם must signify ‘to put a request to, plead with someone.’ Cf. מא יי תבע מינך Mi 6.8 and יי עלי קדם יי תבעו מן קדם 2Kg 22.13 TJ. The Greek collocation, however, can scarcely mean that. As a matter of fact, G could have better used ζητέω to translate the first verb, בעין.<sup>38</sup> די לא תתכלים יתנא. If we are to take note of the initial conjunction, G μὴ καταισχύνῃς ἡμᾶς cannot be a negative command as is commonly understood. The Greek μὴ can sometimes be used instead of ἵνα μὴ or ὅπως μὴ, as in μὴ ἔλθω καὶ πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἅρδην ‘lest I come and deal the land a deadly blow’ Ma 4.5<sup>39</sup> for פך־אבוא וְהִפִּיתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חָרָם. Then the particle די can be assigned a final value construed with an imperfect: ‘lest you put us to shame.’ However, a tG תתכלים can only be reflexive, not causative, which latter is expressed by G καταισχύνῃς. Besides, אתכלם ‘to become ashamed of’ cannot be governed

<sup>33</sup> See Tal 2000, 524b, where an analogue in this idiom is cited: נכיע attested as a variant reading of כמה ‘when’ at Gn 32.32 of the Samaritan Targum.

<sup>34</sup> On the assumption (Koch, vol. 2, p. 55) that the original reading was עלוות pl. cst., misread as sg. cst.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Koch 1987, vol. 2, pp. 55–57. Koch (1987, vol. 1, p. 37) mentions a proposal made, though without knowledge of our Aramaic text, by O. F. Fritzsche in his 1851 commentary; namely, to read ἐμπροσθεν for ὅπισθεν.

<sup>36</sup> So *pace* Dalman 1938, s.v., where only tD is given.

<sup>37</sup> See Muraoka 2011, § 11.

<sup>38</sup> Koch (1987, vol. 2, pp. 60f.) seems to be mixing up בעה and תבע.

<sup>39</sup> For an example from the New Testament, see μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐξαίφνης εὑρη ἡμᾶς καθεύδοντας ‘lest, on my arrival, I find you sleeping’ Mk 13.36.

by ית, but מן as in vs. 44 מתכלמין מכל גבורתהון. Hence we must have to do here with a scribal error for תכלם or תכלים. The Greek negator, however, is not known to bear the value we are assigning to די here.

3.42 בסני טיבותך: the first term must be a substantive rather than an adjective, cf. G κατὰ τὸ πλεῖθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου and מִסְנֵי אֶקְנִיּוֹתֵי 1 Sm 1.16 TJ.

3.44 תיתכלם לכל דעבדיין לעבדייא דילך בישא: just as in vs. 41 תיתכלם need be emended to Afel תכלם. G (ἐντραπέεισαν πάντες..) either restructured A or its *Vorlage* read otherwise such as 'יתכלמו כל וגו'. S with its *nev(h)ṭun* agrees with G. יהון מתכלמין|ן καταισχυνθείσαν, an optative used to translate an impf. Likewise later יהון תבירין|ן συντριβείη. מכל גבורתהון|ן: Koch (I 90) adopts a longer, variant reading for G: ἀπὸ πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ δυναστείας against the ed. Göttingen, which drops δυνάμεως καὶ. Since we have only one substantive in A, this longer variant is probably a double rendition. S agrees with the shorter form: *ga(n)bba.ru:thon*. However, what follows in A is slightly problematic: *καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν συντριβείη*. The preposition and the plural verb suggest that the subject is still the evildoers and מתוקפהון is construed with מתכלמין.

3.45 חזה יי ית נהורא ארי טב: for ארי as introducing a content clause, cf. Gn 1.4 TO.

3.46 It is most natural to postulate a scribal error in רמיו for רמו: there is no good reason to make victims out of the king's men.<sup>40</sup> נעורת|ן: Dalman<sup>41</sup> registers the word under נְעוּרָתָא and cites נְעוּרָתָא Is 1.31 as cst., which does not apply here. Besides, the preceding two substantives are in the det. st. of species. It is hence preferable to view the third noun as a Hebraism.<sup>42</sup> גלילין|ן, probably 'balls,' cf. Syr. *gli:l* 'round.' A עבדו גלילין is absent in G and S.

3.47 שלהובית דנור: the first word occurs in the next verse as שלהוביתא. One need emend the reading to either שלהוביתא, st. abs. שלהובי or cst. שלהובית נורא. The first or second makes better sense in the context. The preceding Af. inf. לאסנאה somewhat matches G's διεχεῖτο, for the notions of spreading widely through and increasing are mutually akin.<sup>43</sup>

3.49 עזריה וחברוהי τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν 'Azariah and his companions': a Greek phrase is not a mechanical match with its Aramaic equivalent, but rather idiomatic, cf. οἱ περὶ Παῦλον ἔλθον εἰς Πέργην 'Paul and his fellow travellers entered P' Acts 13.13.

3.50 כרוחא די מנשבא טלא 'like a wind that blows dew'; ὡς πνεῦμα δρόσου διασπρίζον 'like a wind of dew which whistles through,' with which a shower of dew borne by a whistling wind must be meant. The Arm. verb must be Afel. Here רוח meaning 'wind' is used as a fem. noun, whilst at נשא המון רוחא 'the wind carried them off' Dn 2.35 it is masculine. לא קריב בהון כל נור|ן Dn 3.27, where TH reads ὁσμη πυρὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς. The precise nuance of עדה here is much debated. Its Greek rendering with ἦν is too plain and colourless.<sup>44</sup> It is interesting that, earlier in the verse, לא-שלט|ן נורא is rendered in LXX with οὐκ ἦψατο τὸ πῦρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν, where the use of

<sup>40</sup> Koch (1987, vol. 2, p. 15) assigns the conjunction די final value, which is possible only when the verb in the clause is an imperfect, nor can רמיו be analysed as active, for the verb is not stative as צבי or conjugated in the manner of אשתי. Dalman (1905, p. 338) invoked by Koch does not support such an analysis.

<sup>41</sup> Dalman 1938, p. 273.

<sup>42</sup> S uses a genuine Syr. word, *kevrita*: related to Akk. *kibri:tu*.

<sup>43</sup> Pace Koch (1987, vol. 1, p. 68) this does not mean "gab Laut," as suggested by a v.l. διηχεῖτο 'it rang through, rang all round'; διαχέομι means 'to spread broadly through,' see Muraoka 2009, s.v. 3.

<sup>44</sup> LXX's οὐδὲ ὁσμη τοῦ πυρὸς ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς is much the same.

ἀπτομαι is to be noted in contrast to th's ἀτὸ ἐκέρχισεν τὸ πῦρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, where ἐκέρχισεν is much closer to שָׁלַט. אֵלָּא אֵיתְנִיִּיקוּ מִדַּעַם. 'they were not harmed in any way whatsoever'; the adverbial use of מִדַּעַם is attested in לֹךְ אֲנִי יָדַע מַדַּעַם יֵת פִּתְגָּמָא דְּאָנָא שְׁלַח לֶךְ 'nobody should know the first thing of the matter over which I'm sending you.'

3.51 אֵילִיין: the spelling with a double Yod occurs in סוֹפִיָּהוֹן דְּאֵילִיין וְדְאֵילִיין Nu 24.20 TJ, in Cairo Genizah fragments at Ex 19.6, Lv 23.2, 4, Nu 28.23,<sup>45</sup> and in Targum Neofiti.<sup>46</sup> In our text, the initial Yod of אֵילִיין probably marks the gemination of the following *l* as in some vocalised cases in the Geniza fragments mentioned below, so 'illayin. Syntactically speaking, it is not so much attributive as substantival and in apposition to the following word: 'these, they three.' בפומא חדא: the fem. form of the numeral is striking, *si lectio vera*. This may be an analogical development based on the well-established idiomatic expression כְּחֵדָּה 'altogether, unanimously' as in Egyptian Aramaic, e.g., אֲנַחְנָה אֲשֶׁתוּן כְּחֵדָּה 'we have agreed together'.<sup>47</sup> Likewise in Qumran Aramaic: נָמוּת כְּחֵדָּה 'we shall die together' 4Q530 115, אֲתַכְנִשְׁנָא כְּחֵדָּה 'we gathered together' 1Q20 12.16.<sup>48</sup> For the substance of our passage, see especially חַד תִּלְתְּהוֹן מְלֵי תְרִין חֲבֵרוּהִי דִּי פִם חַד תִּלְתְּהוֹן 'the words of his two colleagues, for they three were unanimously speaking' 1Q20 20.8.<sup>49</sup> Cf. also the idiomatic לְחֵדָּה 'very much, exceedingly' Bel 28. הוֹדוּ: at least the spelling looks like Hebraising in lieu of הוֹדִי, whereas the causative יִדִּי in the sense of 'to praise' is known in Syriac, e.g., 'awde l-ma:rya: Ge 29.35 for MT אֹדָה אֶת יְהוָה.

3.52 מְרוּמָם = מְרוּמָם, pass.<sup>50</sup>

3.53 בְּהִיכְלָא קְדִישְׁתָּךְ can hardly be right. Koch (II 210) emends the second word to דְּקְדוּשְׁתָּךְ, cf. S *b-haykla: d-quḏša:k*. The noun in question may be vocalised *quḏšta:k*.<sup>51</sup>

3.54 דְּאִישְׁתַּקְעָתָא ὁ ἐπιβλέπων (OG ὁ βλέπων). The A verb means 'you drowned,' which, as an intransitive verb, cannot take a direct object.<sup>52</sup> The Greek versions appear to have preserved the original text, which probably read דְּאִשְׁקַפְתָּא, i.e., Afel, which, though rare, is attested in בסופה שְׂרִי מִשְׁקֵף עֲלֵיהֶן 'in the end he began to look at them' PT Ber 9c(35).<sup>53</sup>

3.57 בְּרִיכוּ כָל עוֹבְדֵי יְיָ אֱלֹהִין: the end of the text is amiss. Cf. G εὐλογεῖτε, πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ κυρίου, τὸν κύριον. Likewise בְּרִיכוּ מְלָאכְיָא יְיָ אֱלֹהִין εὐλογεῖτε, ἄγγελοι κυρίου, τὸν κύριον 3.58. Even if one accepted Koch's (I 210) translation "Jahwä-Gott",<sup>54</sup> how would one syntactically analyse the collocation? Is it in *casus pendens* to be resumed with a suffix of the following שְׁבַחֲוִיָּה? This phrase or an abbreviated form of it, אֱלֹהִין, occurs subsequently tens of times, and sometimes there is no retrospective suffix attached to the following impv., e.g., בְּרִיכוּ אִשָּׁא וְשִׁרְבָּא אֱלֹהִין 3.66,

<sup>45</sup> See Fassberg 1990, § 41a, c (pp. 120f.). None of these Targumic instances is vocalised, but note the attributively used cases in הָאֵלִין Gn 38.25, הָאֵלִין Gn 44.6, הָאֵלִין Dt 5.19; הָאֵלִין Ex 20.1.

<sup>46</sup> Levy 1974, p. 80.

<sup>47</sup> The agreement reached is between two males. Cf. Muraoka and Porten 2003, p. 92 n. 430.

<sup>48</sup> See further, Muraoka 2011, p. 91.

<sup>49</sup> On the defective spelling for תִּלְתְּהוֹן as in our text, see Muraoka 2011, p. 32.

<sup>50</sup> Pace Koch 1987, vol. 2, p. 210 מְרוּמָם.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. קְדוּשַׁת שְׁמֵי רִבְּהָ TO Lv 21.9 in ed. Taj. Interesting is a citation in Levy's dictionary s.v.: בְּקְדוּשַׁת שְׁמֵי רִבְּהָ Ez 16.11 TJ.

<sup>52</sup> For example, Gaster (1925–1928, p. 55) "who hast lowered the abyss" and Koch (1987, vol. 2, p. 210) "der du hinabgesenkt hast die Urfluten."

<sup>53</sup> Adduced in Sokoloff 1990 s.v.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. a mechanical reproduction in TO, e.g., יְיָ אֱלֹהִים Ge 2.4, Ex 9.30.

and אלהין singly or in combination with יי is consistently rendered τὸν κύριον. At 3.60 we read בריכו כל חיליאי דיי אלהין, but strangely this is rendered εὐλογεῖτε, παῖσαι αἱ δυνάμεις, τὸν κύριον. Likewise 3.65: שִׁבְחוּנִיהָ: in BA an energetic Nun is not extended to imperatives, though in BH we do find, e.g., קָרְאָנָה Jer 36.15 and קָהְנוּ 1 Sm 16.11. The immediately following impv. also looks Hebraic, רוממוהו, for the expected רוממוהי,<sup>55</sup> and it is all the more odd when it is followed by יתיה!

3.66 אαῤμα: the Aramaic word is most likely שְׂרָבָא<sup>56</sup> or שְׂרָבָא, e.g., Is 4.6 TJ.

3.67 קריר וחמימא: whether to postulate קריר as at Na 3.17 TJ or קריר as in Syr., חמימא is puzzling; there is no good reason to use a fem. abs. form or a msc. emph. form here. קיטור 'smoke' is listed for JPA.<sup>57</sup>

3.82 אינשא: a longer spelling with Yod is known to JBA.<sup>58</sup>

3.87 ענוי לבב: if not a Hebraism (עֲנוֹי לִבָּב), we should perhaps read עֲנוּנִי לִבָּב. A non-extended ענו is not attested in Aramaic.<sup>59</sup>

3.89 הודון Ha. impv. mpl., from which Koch (II 211) has deleted the final Nun. Forms with a final Nun are well attested in Galilean Aramaic and Palestinian Targums.<sup>60</sup>

Bel 25 אשיב, a glaring Hebraism for אתיב. Likewise אבהתי, if not a plain error for אבהתי.

Bel 26 אם 'if,' also later at Bel 29; an indication of the symbiosis of Hebrew and Aramaic in the bilingual Jewish community. The usual conditional conjunction in Aramaic is either הן or אן.<sup>61</sup> מלכא את תתיהב לי רשותא 'you are the king (or: o King), may authority be granted me!,' which is more idiomatic in Aramaic as a respectful, indirect address to the king than GTH's δέ, βασιλεῦ, δός μοι ἐξουσίαν. חרבא = חרבא.<sup>62</sup> חניתא ῥάβδος. This is probably a Heb. word Aramaised with the st. det. ending added; no Aramaic dialect seems to know this lexeme, the standard word for 'spear' being מורני.

Bel 27 שערין τριγῶν: Zimmermann justly assumes a mistranslation,<sup>63</sup> for A must have meant 'grains of barley.' יגלול יתהון לגליל חד ועבד ליה מסריקא דברזלא ויגלול ית כל דין סחור סחור. למסריקא, which is drastically curtailed in LXX: TH αλ ῥῥησεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αλ ἐποίησεν μάζα, LXX ῥῥησεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αλ ποιῆσας μάζαν. Māzza designating a sort of cake is an approximative rendering of גליל 'ball'.<sup>64</sup> The Greek versions, however, make no mention of an iron hatchet, a vital piece of equipment for Daniel to take with him. מסריק usually means 'comb.' In the Talmud we find מסריק דפרזלא as an instrument for torture.<sup>65</sup> וימות 'and it died'; on the tense, see above יציל at 3.88. The same applies to יגלול here twice.

<sup>55</sup> So Koch (1987, vol. 2, p. 210), correcting Gaster.

<sup>56</sup> So at Gn 31.40 TO ed. Taj. שְׂרָבָא given by Levy 1867–1868 for Is 4.6 TJ is to be read שְׂרָב, so ed. Sperber.

<sup>57</sup> Sokoloff 1990, 490aw.

<sup>58</sup> See Sokoloff 1990, 120a.

<sup>59</sup> For ענו, see Sokoloff 2014, 314b and 1990, 412a.

<sup>60</sup> So Dalman 1905, pp. 339, 348f.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Sokoloff 1990, s.v. and 2002, s.v.

<sup>62</sup> Dalman 1938, s.v., correctly notes חרב Gn 34.26 as pausal; the same can be said for the same form at Dt 13.16 and חרב Gn 44.18 mentioned in Sokoloff 1990.

<sup>63</sup> Zimmermann 1958, p. 420.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Syr. gli:l 'round.'

<sup>65</sup> Cited in Sokoloff 2002, 690a, where מסריקא is mentioned as a v.l. Pace Collins (1993, 411b) ברזל does not argue for the Hebrew Vorlage of our document; as shown in Dalman's *Handwörterbuch* (1938), it occurs in Gn 4.22 TO.



Bel 28 **דהא דהא מית תנינא**: we see that **דהא** is used to introduce not only a causal clause, e.g., 3.27, but also a content clause. So also 3.45, Bel 30. **תקיף להון** ‘they were not at all amused’ ἡγγαγνᾶτῃσαν. The Aramaic collocation is probably abbreviated from **תקיף רוגזון**, cf. **לחדא תקוף רוגז** Gn 30.2 TO (MT **ויהר אף יעקב ברחל**) and without **רוגז** as in **תקוף רוגז** Jon 4.4 TJ (MT **ההיטב חרה לך**). **לחדא**: on the idiomatic use of the fem. numeral for ‘one,’ see above at 3.51. Later in the verse we also see **כחדא**. **כנשו**: the intransitive use of the verb is rare, attested in Nu 29.35 TN.<sup>66</sup> tD is the norm, as in S here: **אתכנשו**. G, taking the following verb **ועלו**, combines the two into one verb, **συνεστράφησαν**. **למימר**: **אמרו למימר** is a mere discourse marker, signalling the onset of direct speech. **תברתא**: it is difficult to determine if the verb is G or D, which latter may be preferable in view of the multiple objects, **כהני בל**.

Bel 31 **שויאו** ‘they placed,’ which is more fittingly rendered in G with **ἐβλῶν**. However, this Greek verb, **βλάλλω**, is often used in a loose fashion,<sup>67</sup> and *pace* Gaster (I 61) and Koch (I 213) need not be emended to **שדיאו**. The author of the Aramaic legend, who must have been familiar with the story in Dn 6, could have written **רמו**. The 3mp ending **-יאו** is typical of G *qtil* pattern and derived conjugations of TA as in **סניאו** Gn 47.27 TO, **שניאו** Gn 9.23 TO.<sup>68</sup> The verb root **שדי** in G is not of *qtil* pattern, unless one restores D **שדיאו**. **בירא**: the noun means not only ‘fountain, well,’ but also ‘cistern, pit,’ often used as water reservoir.<sup>69</sup>

Bel 32 **אען**, of which a more orthodox spelling is **ען** or **עאן**.

Bel 33 **למית** ἀπενέγκαι: from the context we expect ‘to bring, to take,’ but we hesitate to emend it, as Koch (I 213) does, to a late Aramaic Afel inf., **למית[א]**, as in, e.g., **למייתא** Ex 36.5 TJ. Hence emend to **[א]מית[א]**. Cf. **לצלאה** ‘to pray’ 3.25 and **לאסנאה** ‘to increase’ 3.47. **הצדייא** ‘the reapers’: the Aramaic lexeme is usually of *qa:to:l* pattern, e.g., **הצודא** Jer 9.21 TJ. It occurs earlier in the verse also spelled in the same way, and a misspelling for **הצודי** twice in such a proximity is unlikely. Probably G ptc. **הצדיא** or **הצדי** is meant, though the latter is not attested in Aramaic.

Bel 34 **לדינאל**: note the proleptic structure.

Bel 35 **ריבוני**, which can be vocalised in two ways, **ריבונִי** or **ריבונִי**.<sup>70</sup> **חזיתִי**, a long variety known from Jewish Aramaic, e.g., **חזיתִי** Gn 32.30 TO. **מדאיתִי** is puzzling.<sup>71</sup> Possibly ‘in all my life’? **גוף**, an obvious error for **גוב**.

Bel 36 **צציתא** ‘lock of hair’: a form known to Syr. and JBA.<sup>72</sup>

Bel 38 **את דכיר יתי** ‘you remember me’: a construction distinct from the well-known syntagm *qtil l-* with perfective value, but a passive ptc. here underlines a result or prevailing condition, hence slightly different from S *e(t)ddakran(y)* and G *ἐμνήσθης μου*. Note also **יתי**, and not **לי**. **כל דרחימן לך** ‘all those who love you’ **τοὺς ἀγαπῶντάς σε**: most probably an anomalous *plene* spelling for **רחמן**, i.e., **רחִימִין** or **רחִימִין** ‘beloved’ is unlikely.

<sup>66</sup> Noted in Sokoloff 1990, s.v.

<sup>67</sup> See, for example, **τὸ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐὰν βάλῃ** (MT **וְשִׁים**) **ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ στόμα μου** Nm 22.38. Cf. Muraoka 2009, s.v. 2.

<sup>68</sup> More examples are mentioned in Dalman 1905, pp. 343f.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Sokoloff 1990, s.v.

<sup>70</sup> On this divine title in its Aramaic manifestations, see Kutscher 1977 pp. 95–98. The spelling with Yod is late (Dalman 1905, § 35.2); “allerdings als Anrede für nichtgöttliche Personen nur in den Targumen und nicht mehr bei den Rabbinen verwendet (Strack-Billerbeck II 25)” Koch 1987, vol. 2, p. 179.

<sup>71</sup> Koch (1987, vol. 2, p. 213) translates “seitdem ich bin.” Many Gk MSS as well as LXX here have **ποῦ ἐστί.**

<sup>72</sup> Dictionaries list also **צִיצִי**, but Dalman (1938, s.v.) justly notes that at Ct 5.2 the actual reading is cst. spelled **צִיצִת**. On the other hand, **צִיצִי** ‘fringe’ listed in Sokoloff 1990 is probably unrelated to our lexeme.

Bel 39 בשעתא חדא LXX παραχρημα: the G rendering fits the context, though it cannot be easily related to A, which is an odd reading with the st. det., when we would rather expect either בשעה חדא ‘in the twinkling of an eye’ or בשעתא חדא ‘on that moment, thereupon.’<sup>73</sup> To attempt to justify the MS reading as reflecting the syntax of Eastern Aramaic, in which the st. emph. is bereft of its original value, is too daring. Even Syriac uses an abs. st. form for this idiomatic phrase: BA כְּשַׁעָה חֲדָה ‘for a brief moment’ Dn 4.16 is rendered in the Peshitta as *ʾak ša:ʾa: ḥada:*. So we may postulate a scribal error for בשעתא חדא.

Bel 41 בקל רם must be a slip for בקל רם ויקרא: the use of the det. st. רם is remarkable and the following pronoun is thus probably no mere copula, ‘the God of Daniel, he is the great and glorious one.’

Bel 42 אינן גוברין, for which one would expect אינן גובריא. אכלו קורציה דדניאל: whereas in Dn 6.25, on which this line of ours is dependent, we read אַכְלוּ קִרְצוּי דִּי דְנִיָּאל. There is a dialectal fluctuation as regards the first vowel of the substantive and its number in this idiomatic phrase: thus we also find *i* as in אַכְלוּ קִרְצָא Ezek 22.9 TJ, אַכְלוּ קִרְצִין Lv 19.16 TO, *qarṣē* ib. Pesh. Hence קורציה here is ambiguous: is it pl. det. = קִרְצִיָּה or sg. + 3ms = קִרְצִיָּה? The idiom is known to derive from Akk. *karṣē akālu*, in which the noun is plural.

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<sup>73</sup> The A text, as it stands, can scarcely mean “innerhalb einer Stunde” (Koch 1987, vol. 2, p. 213).



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# What does “*Maskil*” in the heading of a psalm mean?

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## Abstract

*This study suggests that the word *maskil* in the heading of a psalm is a musical instruction that denotes a specific responsive mode of performance defined as complex antiphony because it involves the gathering of distant segments of the text through a dialogue between choirs, each singing a different section of the edited song. This premise is supported by the use of *pi'el skl* to express an unusual (crossed) bonding (Gen. 48:14), testimonies in Chronicles about difficulties in the execution of this mode of performance, the mention of *šekel/maskil* in psalms specifically designed for complex antiphony, and the intellectual effort required to apprehend the meaning that emerges from such a dialogic mixing of claims, itself echoed by other uses of the Semitic root *skl*.*

**Keywords:** complex antiphony, psalm heading, Ezrahtes, musical worship, *skl* Semitic root

## Introduction

The headings of psalms are especially difficult to understand, because many terms specifically encountered in them are obscure. It even remains difficult to associate their appearance in a heading with the genre, content, and structural properties of the psalm.<sup>1</sup> The term *maskil* (מִשְׁכִּיל) exemplifies such a situation. It occurs in the headings of 13 psalms (32, 42-43, 44, 45, 52-55, 74, 78, 88, 89, and 142) and in the text of only one (47:8). Its importance has been stressed in the past,<sup>2</sup> but its meaning defies consensus.<sup>3</sup> Today, most scholars suggest that it reflects the genre of the psalm, and three interpretations have been proposed:

1. *A maskil as a wisdom song.* Given that the verb *lehaskil* (hif. *skl*) expresses wise behaviour,<sup>4</sup> many scholars assume that *maskil* in a heading denotes a wisdom song.<sup>5</sup> This interpretation

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the meaning of *maskil*, Kraus (1989, vol. 1, p. 21) assumes that “*The context of the Hebrew Bible is not sufficiently extensive to gain a clear picture. Problematic are all attempts to engage in an etymological investigation of roots and in the course of such research to provide possible explanations on the basis of Semitic linguistics. Neither do the explanations of the Midrashic literature provide satisfactory elucidation.*” Similarly, Hakham (2003, vol. 1, p. 242) acknowledges that “*We do not fully understand the system of names given to the various types of psalms.*” For the HALOT, too (vol. 2, p. 641), the word *maskil* in a psalm heading is a technical term of unclear meaning.

<sup>2</sup> According to Briggs and Briggs (1906, vol. 1, § 24-26), the terms *maskil*, as well as *miktām* and *šir*, define collections of psalms in the Psalter.

<sup>3</sup> Beckwith (1995, p. 2) concludes that “[...] *Even with a word like maskil, which seems to have a plain root-derivation, it is hard to see why it has been applied to particular psalms and not others.*”

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Deut. 32:29; Isa. 44:18; Jer. 3:15, 9:23, 10:21; Ps. 106:7; Job 34:35.

<sup>5</sup> Briggs and Briggs (1906, vol. 1, § 26) deduce from the meaning of the *hifil* form of *skl* that *maskil* in a psalm heading designates a meditation / meditative poem. See also Peters (1910, p. 124), whose opinion is followed by more recent scholars (HALOT, vol. 2, p. 641).

is supported by the Septuagint, in which *maskil* is translated as *συνέσις* (= *knowledge, understanding*) in the headings of Psalms 32, 52–55, 74, 78, 88, 89, and 142 and as *ἐλὲς συνέσις* (= *for the purpose of intelligence / understanding*) in the headings of Psalms 42–43, 44, and 45.<sup>6</sup>

2. *A maskil as a didactic song.* The verb *lehaškil* also denotes an increase of wisdom, understanding, and even intellectual capacities. This meaning is encountered in Gen. 3:6<sup>7</sup> and in Psalms 2:10, 94:8, 101:2, and 119:99. In Psalm 32, *maskil* in the heading (v. 1) is even echoed in the text by the verb *lehaškil* in the sense of instructing and/or promoting wisdom: “I will give you understanding (וְהִשְׁכִּילְךָ), and I will instruct you (וְאֶנְחִלְךָ) in this way, in which you shall go: I will fix my eyes upon you” (Ps. 32:8). This justifies the interpretation of *maskil* in a psalm heading as designating a didactic song that combines artistic performance with intellectual instruction. Both ancient exegetes<sup>8</sup> and modern scholars<sup>9</sup> concur.
3. *A maskil as a powerful song.* The verb *lehaškil* frequently expresses success in action.<sup>10</sup> By extension, scholars have suggested that the word *maskil* may simply denote a “psalm of success.”<sup>11</sup> Therefore, it becomes an indication of the very ability of this song to call upon the deity or influence his assistance.<sup>12</sup> Alternatively, it may stress the skillful nature and high artistic value of the song.<sup>13</sup>

Although each of these interpretations may be convincing in specific instances, no one thus far has provided any satisfying explanation for *all* the occurrences of *maskil* in psalm headings.<sup>14</sup> Psalm 42–43, for example, can hardly be approached as a wisdom song. Similarly, the psalmist’s state of misery (if not despair) in Psalm 88 is hardly compatible with the definition of *maskil*

<sup>6</sup> Following this approach, *maskil* became translated as *intellectus* in the Vulgate.

<sup>7</sup> “So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise (וְהָיָה לְהִשְׁכִּיל).” The Targum has here assimilated the verb *הִשְׁכִּיל* into the Aramaic verb *לאיסתכלא* (= to see) (וּמְרַגְגָּא אֵילָנָא לְאִיסְתְּכֻלָּא בֵּיהּ). This interpretation is probably justified due to the mention of the beauty of this tree immediately before, in Gen. 3:6: “It was a delight to the eyes.”

<sup>8</sup> According to Ibn Ezra, *maskil* in the heading of Psalm 32 is a unique superscription referring to the promise in v. 8, “I will give you understanding” (וְהִשְׁכִּילְךָ). For Rashi, the mention of *maskil* in a psalm heading indicates that the psalm is designed to be not only read but also explained/interpreted for the audience by an exegete. As Gruber (2004, p. 299) points out, this interpretation refers to the “ghostwriters” who were appointed for this function in the Babylonian Talmudic academy (*Pesahim* 117a).

<sup>9</sup> Eerdmans (1947, p. 77) deduced, from the *hiphil* meaning ‘to gain or to have insight’, and, too, ‘to teach insight’, that “a *maskil* can be a song of instruction as well as an exposition of religious truth.” For Gertner (1960, pp. 245, 253; 1962, p. 23), this term is a call to the Levites to use their art of singing for exegetical purposes; that is, to sing in an instructive manner. Also Hakham (2003, vol. 1, p. 242) suggests that *maskil* refers to “a psalm that teaches a moral.”

<sup>10</sup> See Deut. 29:8; Josh. 1:7–8; 1 Sam. 18:14–15; 1 Kings 2:33; 2 Kings 18:7; Isa. 41:20, 52:13; Pss. 36:4, 41:2, 64:10; Prov. 17:8, 19:14, 21:16; Job 34:27; and 1 Chron. 28:19. According to Forti and Glatt-Gilad (2015), the iterated use of the root *škl* in 1 Sam 18:5, 14, 15, and 30 is a way to emphasise David’s divine patronage as the source of his success.

<sup>11</sup> See DCH 5:503–504. This interpretation is frequently justified by quoting 2 Chron. 30:22a, where it is related that “Hezekiah spoke encouragingly to all the Levites *hamaskilim šekel tob* (הַמְשְׁכִּילִים שֶׁכֶּל טוֹב) for YHWH.”

<sup>12</sup> Mowinckel 1962, vol. 2, pp. 94, 209; Rowley 1967, p. 210. Delakat (1964, pp. 282–283) even suggests that *maskil* designates a song so successful that it became popular.

<sup>13</sup> Dahood 1968, vol. 1, p. 286. For a review about this opinion, see Kosmala 1978, p. 151. Kraus (1989, vol. 1, p. 24) combines this meaning with that of wisdom song in his interpretation of *maskil*: “*משכיל* would be the artistically molded song, which has been created in accordance with the principles of wisdom.” As a variant of this interpretation of *maskil* as efficient song, Ahlström (1959, pp. 21–26) suggested that this term refers to a category of psalms designed for royal religious ceremonies and closely related to fertility rites.

<sup>14</sup> Kraus (1989, vol. 1, p. 32) stresses this point: “What, for instance, have Psalms 32, 45, 78, and 89 in common, all of which have the title *משכיל*? Basically, nothing.”

as denoting a psalm of success. It is also doubtful that the audience enjoyed its content. Similarly, Psalm 45, identified as celebrating a king’s wedding, ostensibly evokes no trace of didacticism, wisdom, or any connotation of efficiency.<sup>15</sup> These observations indicate that *maskil* in a psalm heading cannot easily be related to the theme, genre, or specific claim of the psalm.

### *Maskil as a performative technical term*

#### *Evidence from biblical sources*

The hypothesis that the word *maskil* in a psalm heading represents a performative instruction has been intimated by both ancient exegetes and modern scholars.<sup>16</sup> It finds support in Ps. 101:2, where the expression אֲשַׁכִּילָה בְּדֶרֶךְ תָּמִים extends the wish to “sing to YHWH” that is enunciated twice in the previous verse.<sup>17</sup> Further support of a musical interpretation of *maskil* is found in Ps. 47:7–8:

Sing (to) Elohim, Sing!  
Sing to our King, sing!  
For king of all the earth is Elohim;  
Sing maskil!

The invitation to sing (וּמְרוּ) recurs no fewer than five times in these two verses and one of them is directly related to the nominal form *maskil* (8b). In Chronicles, too, we read that “*The people of Israel who were present at Jerusalem kept the Feast of Unleavened Bread seven days with great gladness, and the Levites and the priests praised (מְהַלִּים) YHWH day by day, [singing] with loud instruments (בְּכָלֵי עוֹז) to YHWH. And Hezekiah spoke encouragingly to all the Levites hamaskilim šekel tob for YHWH [...]*” (2 Chron, 30:21–22a). The expression הַמְשַׁכִּילִים שָׁכַל טוֹב is frequently understood as a reference to the Levites’ practising of their office with skill, devotion, and “good understanding” of YHWH. This interpretation, however, raises doubts for at least three reasons:

1. The musical context appears in v. 21 through the verb להלל, which, in a Levite collective background, denotes hymnic performances.
2. The text specifically mentions loud musical instruments (בְּכָלֵי עוֹז) played by the Levites (harps, lyres, and pipes) and the priests (trumpets).
3. It is unexpected to encounter a mention of the Levites’ “good understanding” of YHWH without a mention of that of the priests, who are referenced together with them in the foregoing verse.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ahlström 1959, p. 25. For Trotter (2009), this song even focuses on the ideology and rituals that pertain to the Judean kingship and kingdom.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ezra assumes that *maskil*, exactly like many other terms in psalm headings, is a musical instruction for the use of the tune of a poem beginning with this word. For Meiri, *maskil* in a psalm heading denotes a musical instrument that derives its name from its ability to enlighten the human intellect. Among modern scholars, a musical interpretation of *maskil* is promoted mainly by Peters (1910, p. 122) and Koenen (1991 and 2004, pp. 126–127). Concurrently, a musical meaning of the verb *lehaškil* is defended by Peters (1910, p. 124), Kosmala (1978, p. 153), and HALOT (vol. 3, p. 1329).

<sup>17</sup> For this reason, the DCH (vol. 8, p. 153) interprets the verb *lehaškil* in Ps. 101:2 as *to rhapsodise*.

<sup>18</sup> This problem is reflected in the Septuagint, which emends the expression כָּל הַלְוִיִּים הַמְשַׁכִּילִים שָׁכַל טוֹב to Λεωιται καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ἑσπερίων σὺν τοῖς ἱερεσὶν (= *the Levites and those with a good understanding*), thereby allowing the “understanding of YHWH” to be extended to the priests.

Accordingly, it seems that here King Hezekiah encouraged the Levites in their musical performance. If so, we may conclude that the verb *leḥaskîl* is closely related to musical worship.<sup>19</sup> By extension, *śekel* probably relates to a specific type of musical worship, the performance of which is evoked by the verbal form *leḥaskîl*.

#### *Interference with musical terms*

Among the terms associated with *maskîl* in psalm headings, seven have been identified as musical instructions for performance (Table 1). The frequency of the co-occurrence of *maskîl* and a specific musical term in psalm headings may be calculated. By comparing this observed value with the product of the frequency of *maskîl* and this musical term considered individually (a value expressing the expected frequency of their co-occurrence in the absence of any interference between them), one may determine the nature of their association in a heading. If the expected and observed frequencies are similar, we may conclude that *maskîl* and the musical term at issue were simply listed together in psalm headings. A significant difference between the expected and observed values, however, would reflect their interference. In the latter case, we may deduce that *maskîl* belongs to the menu of instructions for the musical performance of the psalms.

Psalm	maskîl	Technical musical term in psalm heading						
		mizmôr	šîr	negînôt	māḥālat	menaṣṣēaḥ	le'anôt	šōšanîm
32:I	+							
42:I	+					+		
44:I	+					+		
45:I	+		+			+		+
52:I	+					+		
53:I	+				+	+		
54:I	+			+		+		
55:I	+			+		+		
74:I	+							
78:I	+							
88:I	+	+	+		+	+	+	
89:I	+							
142:I	+							

Table 1. Co-occurrence of *maskîl* with terms relative to musical performance in psalm heading

<sup>19</sup> This musical context is already found in the Peshitta, in which the expression *הַמְשַׁכִּילִים שֶׁכֶּל טוֹב* is understood as a mention of “the Levites who sing praises before the Lord with beautiful hymns.” This opinion is followed by some modern scholars. See *HALOT* vol. 3, p. 1329; Kosmala 1978, p. 153.

The frequency of occurrence of musical terms in headings varies considerably in the Psalter. This is why the difference between the observed and expected co-occurrence frequencies of *maskil* and a given musical term in headings has been standardised and defined as *affinity index* (Table 2, legend). An *affinity index* verging on zero indicates lack of interaction between *maskil* and the musical term at hand, whereas a positive or negative affinity index reflects their synergy. Calculation of affinity indices for the seven musical indications reveals that none is neutral in regard to *maskil*. Both *šîr* and *mizmôr* are clearly antagonistic to *maskil*, whereas all the other musical terms are agonistic (Table 2). This trend is clearly evident for *menašeah* and is especially significant in respect of rare technical terms.<sup>20</sup> These results indicate that *maskil* in a psalm heading interferes with the mode of performance.

	maskil	Technical musical term in psalm heading						
		mizmôr	šîr	negînôt	māḥālat	menašeah	le'anôt	šōšanîm
Total occurrence in Table 1	13	1	2	2	2	8	1	1
Total occurrence in the Psalter	13	57	33	6	2	55	1	4
Frequency in the Psalter	0.086	0.38	0.22	0.04	0.013	0.366	0.006	0.026
EO[Xi]	-	4.94	2.86	0.52	0.173	4.76	0.086	0.346
AI[Xi]	-	- 0.663	- 0.177	0.587	0.840	0.253	0.840	0.485

Table 2. Level of affinity of *maskil* with musical terms in psalm heading

The frequency in Psalter of a technical musical term (Xi) is calculated as the ratio between total occurrence of Xi, (O[Xi]) in the Psalter and the total number of psalms (150). The expected co-occurrence of Xi and *maskil* in heading (EO[Xi]) is calculated as the product of the Xi frequency in Psalter, that of *maskil* and the total number of psalms in the Psalter (150). The affinity index of AI[Xi] is calculated according to the formula  $(O[Xi] - EO[Xi]) / (O[Xi] + EO[Xi])$ .

### *Maskil* and antiphony

Examination of the various meanings of the root *škl* in ancient Hebrew may be instructive as to the musical indication expressed as *maskil*.

1. *gal stem: to bond, to connect, to attach*: This use, strongly acknowledged in Arabic,<sup>21</sup> is not observed in the Bible. Its existence—at least at an archaic stage—may, however, be deduced from the closely related *pi'el* meaning of *škl* as *to cross*, attested in Gen. 48:14 (see below). In the musical context, this idea of bonding isolated elements may evoke the gathering of

<sup>20</sup> On the basis of Hab. 3:19 (לְמִנְצָה בְּנִינּוֹתִי), Waltke (1991) suggests that לְמִנְצָה (+ an optional prepositional phrase) should be approached not as the superscript of the psalms to which it is currently attached but as the postscript of the preceding psalm. This hypothesis, however, remains speculative. It is even challenged by the evidence that the first verse of Psalm 46 (starting with לְמִנְצָה לְבָנֵי קָרָה) is an integral part of the text of Psalm 46 (see below and Amzallag 2015a).

<sup>21</sup> Blau 1957, p. 101; HALOT vol. 3, p. 1329; Koenen 1991, p. III.

many voices singing together or the superposition/conjunction of many independent themes, and so on.

2. *pi'el stem: to cross over, lay crosswise, intertwine*: This form is evidenced in the verse that reports Jacob blessing his grandsons, Manasseh and Ephraim: “And Israel stretched out his right hand and laid it on the head of Ephraim, who was the younger, and his left hand on the head of Manasseh, crossing (שָׁכַל) his hands for Manasseh was the firstborn” (Gen. 48:14). Transposed to the domain of musical performance, it should be used to designate something abnormally crossed, and therefore deviating from the normal/expected manner of performance.
3. *bif'il stem: to be wise, intelligent, efficient, successful, prudent, circumspect*: All these expressions are both general and figurative. Accordingly, none may be easily associated with any specific mode of performance.

This examination indicates that only the *qal* and *pi'el* forms of *škl*, both of which evoke the bonding of separated/distant entities, may be sources of a musical instruction. Drawing on the meaning of *pi'el škl* in biblical Hebrew, it has been suggested that *maskil* in a psalm heading may be a specific instruction for antiphony, a dialogic mode of performance that integrates the claims of two separate voices.<sup>22</sup>

This assumption finds support in the identification of elements typically expected in antiphonal performance in the *maskil* Psalms 32, 42–43, 45, 54, 55, 89, and 142.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the term לְעִנּוֹת in the heading of Psalm 88 may be interpreted as a musical indication relating to the manner of singing,<sup>24</sup> and especially to antiphony,<sup>25</sup> instead of expressing affliction and suffering.<sup>26</sup> The specific call to “sing *maskil*” in Ps. 47:8 may also be interpreted as an indication that this Psalm was conceived for the performance of dialoguing choirs.<sup>27</sup>

Further considerations suggest, however, that the identification of *maskil* with antiphony may be an oversimplification. First, if *maskil* in a psalm heading simply designates antiphony, we would expect to find textual singularities that characterise this dialogic pattern, such as repetitive

<sup>22</sup> Koenen 1991, p. 111; 2004, p. 127. For the *DCH*, too (vol. 5, pp. 503–504), *maskil*, in the heading of Psalm 32, is a technical term specifically designating *responsive reading*.

<sup>23</sup> Koenen 1991, p. 112.

<sup>24</sup> Clifford 2003, pp. 87–88; Kraus 1989, vol. 1, p. 29; vol. 2, p. 190; Maillot and Lelièvre 1966, p. 223; Hakham 2003, vol. 2, p. 301.

<sup>25</sup> Briggs and Briggs 1906, vol. 1, § 34; Dahood 1968, vol. 2, p. 302. Many authors interpreting לְעִנּוֹת in a musical context assume that מְחֻלֵּת is derived from the root חוּל evoking the action of dancing or playing a flute. See Kraus 1989, vol. 1, p. 27. A similar interpretation has been already proposed by medieval exegetes: Ibn Jannah, Saadia Gaon, Salmon ben Yeruhim and David ben Abraham al Fasi all deduced from the derivation of מְחֻלֵּת from the root חוּל (to dance) that this term evokes the drum as instrument, or it is a instruction for drum playing. See Sokolow 1984, p. 162. The way the word is punctuated in Ps. 88:1 (מְחֻלֵּת) fits its interpretation as *sickness* instead of dance/flute playing, which should be punctuated as מְחֻלֵּת. However, we should keep in mind that the punctuation was added long after the meaning of the indications in psalm headings was lost (as revealed by the Septuagint and other translations from late Antiquity).

<sup>26</sup> Tate 1990, pp. 394–395 and references therein. Both meanings are generally evoked as possible. See, e.g., Weiser 1962, p. 585; Illman 1991, p. 113; Goldingay 2007, p. 645. The two meanings are tentatively combined by Hossfeld and Zenger (2005, p. 390), who suggest translating מְחֻלֵּת לְעִנּוֹת as “to be sung in a depressed/muffled voice.” These alternative interpretations are generally justified both by the penitential and even pathological situation evoked throughout this song and also by the conjunction, in this heading, of לְעִנּוֹת with מְחֻלֵּת, which is understood here as an allusion to illness.

<sup>27</sup> Peters 1910, p. 122.



liturgical formulae (as in Pss. 24:7–10, 136:1–26, and 118:1–12)<sup>28</sup> or parallelism between hemiverses sung dialogically by the two choirs. The text of Psalm 53 does not fulfill these conditions: it lacks an antiphonal refrain and its hemiverses sometimes display literary continuity (e.g., in verse 3).<sup>29</sup> Second, antiphony was apparently *the* preferential mode of liturgical performance in the ancient Near East.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the root *škl* recurs extensively in many Semitic languages. Accordingly, if *maskil* truly designates antiphonal performance, we would expect to encounter a similar use of *škl* in many other Semitic languages. This is not the case; the musical dimension of *maskil* is evidenced only in ancient Hebrew. This suggests that *maskil* designates a mode of performance specifically related to the Israelite tradition, rather than the “traditional” antiphony that was widespread in the Ancient Near East.

### General considerations about complex antiphony

A mode of performance specifically related to the musical worship of YHWH, defined as *complex antiphony*, has been identified in biblical poetry.<sup>31</sup> Its singularity is revealed in the text that reports the ceremony attending to the dedication of the Jerusalem city wall (Neh. 12:27–43), which mentions two choirs (תִּזְרָת) singing antiphonally at the temple under the direction of Jezrahiah, the choirmaster (Neh. 12:40–42). This text also specifies that the two choirs met at the temple after walking separately on the city wall while singing and playing musical instruments, each under the leadership of its own choirmaster (as specifically mentioned for the first choir in vv. 35–36). Since no break in performance is specified between the separate processions and their gathering in the temple, we may conclude that the two choirs mixed their voices gradually when they reached the temple. If so, the mixing of voices at the temple yielded a new poetical reality, a *composite song* produced by the integration of segments of the two songs that were initially performed separately during the procession.<sup>32</sup> Such a performance, in which two independent texts combine in dialogic fashion, is defined as *complex antiphony*.

Biblical songs designed for *complex antiphony* are typified both by incongruities that characterise the linear reading and by the existence of organised patterns of literary bonds between distant verses. For example, literary bonds between verses similarly positioned in two segments of similar length belong to a mode defined as *steady responsa*, in which parallel segments of text from the two parts are mixed through antiphonal dialogue between the voices. The presence of

<sup>28</sup> Mowinckel 1962, vol. 1, p. 86; Kraus 1989, vol. 2, pp. 496–497; Human 2004, p. 73; Jeremias 2004, pp. 92–93. Allen (1983, p. 231) relates the common opinion among scholars that “*Psalm 136 is an imperatival, antiphonal hymn in which the first colon of each line was presumably sung by a temple soloist or choir and the second by the congregation as a response.*” Concerning the antiphonal performance of Psalm 118, see Mowinckel 1962, vol. 2, p. 28. Kraus (1989, vol. 1, p. 394) assumes that at least the first verses were performed antiphonally.

<sup>29</sup> v 3: “Elohim looks down from heaven on the sons of Adam to see if there are any *maskil* who seek after Elohim.” v. 5: “Have those who work evil no knowledge, [about those] who eat up my people as they eat bread and do not call upon God?”

<sup>30</sup> Gunkel (1998, p. 310) even assumed that “*The alternation of voices is characteristic of the performance of the liturgy.*” Concerning the extensive use of antiphony in Ancient Near East liturgy, see Sendrey 1969, pp. 44–49, 161. For Sachs (1960, pp. 47–48), antiphony is one of the most ancient and fundamental modes of performance of liturgy in the world.

<sup>31</sup> See Amzallag 2014a, pp. 19–25. This mode is however not exclusive to Israel, as revealed by identification of *complex antiphony* in an Ugaritic psalm, KTU 1.65 (Amzallag and Yona 2014).

<sup>32</sup> For further analysis of the mode of performance of this ceremony, see Amzallag 2015b, pp. 109–119.

especially frequent literary bonds at a definite interval of verses suggests that the psalm was designed for *canonic responsa*, a mode of *complex antiphony* in which the two voices sing the same text in canon with a delay corresponding to the interval of verses characterised by abundant literary bonds. Psalms displaying an entire pattern of concentric symmetry have been associated with *cross-responsa*, a mode of *complex antiphony* in which the first choir performs the song in an ascending order of verses (sense voice) and the second choir sings the same text in a descending order (antisense voice).<sup>33</sup>

The two voices that participate in *complex antiphony*, each singing its own text, are of equal importance. This means that their successful intertwining is much more difficult than in “traditional” antiphony, in which the second choir remains essentially an answering voice, its performance strictly conditioned by that of its leading counterpart. *Complex antiphony* requires each choir to preserve its rhythmic and melodic autonomy and in time to coordinate its singing with the other voice to avoid cacophony and to enable a coherent meaning to emerge from the mixing. This is especially a challenge if the composite meaning differs from its constituent parts. For example, the twin psalms 111 and 112, when considered separately, look like a hymn and a wisdom song, respectively. Their treatment as two parts designed for an antiphonal dialogue between parallel cola, however, yields a coherent composite text relating the theological history of Israel from Abraham to the post-exilic period.<sup>34</sup>

Furthermore, the emergent meaning is not always simple to understand. It is sometimes conditioned by the resolution of a riddle. This is illustrated in Psalm 46, in which the first verse looks like a heading detached from the body of the psalm: “*To the choirmaster (לְמִנְצָח), To the sons of Korah, At the upper voice (עַל צִלְמוֹת), a song (שִׁיר).*” When this psalm is identified as designed for *canonic responsa*, however, the ostensible heading verse intertwines with verse 5 (“*A river, its rivulets will rejoice the city of God; Holy, the shrines of Elyon*”), generating the following composite verse:

- (a) To the choirmaster → a river
- (b) To the sons of Korah → its rivulets will rejoice the city of God
- (c) At the upper voice → Holy
- (d) A song → the shrines of Elyon

This sequence of claims has no apparent meaning. Its content becomes clear only after the opening riddle (couple a) is resolved, likening the choirmaster to the source of water, exactly as Jubal (water flowing from a source, Ezek. 17:8) recurs as the name of the forefather of the Canaanite congregation of musicians and singers (Gen. 4:21). Accordingly, the choirmaster/stream becomes the forefather, Korah, whose sons (= the rivulets) rejoice the city of god (couple b) through their musical worship (couple c). The last pair (couple d) specifies that this musical

<sup>33</sup> Amzallag 2014a, pp. 30–35. *Complex antiphony* is confirmed by evidence that in psalms that display the specific pattern of long-range literary bonds, the emergent composite text is sometime considerably clearer in its meaning and themes than the linear reading.

<sup>34</sup> Amzallag, 2015b, pp. 197–207. In Psalms 46, 67, and 87, for example, the central theme of the song, the far and wide diffusion of the musical worship of YHWH by the Jerusalemite singers, is totally cloaked until the composite text is examined. See Amzallag 2014b, 2015a and c.

performance is especially involved in stimulating YHWH’s theophany (= his dwelling in the shrine) and, consequently, in approaching the deity and revealing his secrets.<sup>35</sup>

This overview emphasises that, relative to “traditional” antiphony, the performance of *complex antiphony* requires superior musical skill, deep knowledge of the Hebrew language, cleverness, and ability to solve riddles promptly during the course of the performance.

### Affinities between *maskil* and complex antiphony

The foregoing considerations about *complex antiphony* allow us to determine whether the word *maskil* in a psalm heading may be considered closely related to this mode of performance.

#### *Complex antiphony as the crossing of verses*

The pi’el form of *skl* denotes the act of crossing over. In the context of Gen. 48:14, it even indicates an *abnormal* crossing over. This singularity fits *complex antiphony* precisely, because here an abnormal bonding, conditioned by the mode of performance, is introduced between verses positioned distantly in the edited text.

#### *Maskil and special proficiency*

The specific mention, in 2 Chron. 30:22a, of the Levites’ performance of a “good *sekel*” (הַמְשָׁכִילִים שָׂכָל טוֹב) reveals that this mode of singing is not necessarily successful.<sup>36</sup> It seems, therefore, that the mode of musical performance evoked as *maskil* requires a special competence on the performers’ part and even their training by a specialist. This assumption is confirmed by the mention, in 1 Chron. 26:14, of a musical counsellor who specialised in this mode of performance (יוֹעֵץ בְּשָׂכָל)

#### *skl and intellectual capacities*

The designation of intellectual capacities, and even their development, as *maskil* is strictly confined to the Canaanite / Hebrew language. Scholars have linked this meaning with musical performance by assuming that *maskil* refers to the clarification of a poetic text through its chanting and singing.<sup>37</sup> Such a feature remains, however, enigmatic if the text is sung exactly as it may be read in its edited version. It becomes clear, however, as soon as the performance yields a composite text with its own meaning flowing from subtle synergistic interactions between intertwined claims. Deciphering the emergent meaning throughout the performance obviously stimulates the intellectual capacities of the practitioners of this art.

<sup>35</sup> For a complete analysis of the composite text of Psalm 46, see Amzallag 2015a.

<sup>36</sup> This difficulty is confirmed by the appointment of an expert for this mode of performance at the Jerusalem temple: “And the lot eastward fell to Shelemiah. Then for Zechariah his son, an advisor in *sekel* (יוֹעֵץ בְּשָׂכָל), they cast lots; and his lot came out northward” (1 Chron. 26:14).

<sup>37</sup> For Gertner (1962, p. 23), “[*Maskil* ...] was a standard technical term in the Levite vocabulary with a double, intellectual-exegetical and artistic-musical meaning. The Levites practised exegesis and interpretation by reciting the texts to their audiences and also by performing their musical art of singing.”

### *Maskîl and the Yahwistic mode of singing*

Although the root *skl* occurs in many Semitic languages, the musical dimension of *maskîl* is acknowledged only in ancient Hebrew. This singularity may be justified only if *maskîl* reflects primarily a mode of musical performance specifically related to or identified with the Israelite and/or Canaanite culture. Several songs, such as Psalms 46, 67, and 87, mention a singular mode of performance, specifically related to the musical worship of YHWH, that the Jerusalemite singers diffuse far and wide among the nations in order to spread knowledge of YHWH. Even though nothing about this mysterious nature of the “songs of YHWH” is explained in detail, it is noteworthy that all three psalms are designed for *complex antiphony*.<sup>38</sup> Exactly as suggested in Ps. 47:8, where the invitation to sing a *maskîl* is parallel to the invitation to sing for YHWH, this mode of performance was apparently identified with the musical worship of the god of Israel.<sup>39</sup>

### *Maskîl in Psalm 47*

According to the interpretation offered here, we would expect to find that Psalm 47, the only song that extends an explicit invitation to sing a *maskîl*, was truly designed for complex antiphonal performance. Two observations support this hypothesis. First, this psalm divides into two distinct parts of five verselines each (I: 2–6; II: 7–10ab, cd). Furthermore, a strong parallel in claims is found between similarly positioned verselines in both parts,<sup>40</sup> as one would expect if they correspond to segments of dialogue between two voices. This postulation is reinforced by the reconstitution of the composite text that this gathering of distant verses yields—a text that is more coherent and cohesive than the edited one.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, affinities between Psalm 46 and Psalm 47 have suggested to scholars that both belonged to the same ceremony and were even sung together.<sup>42</sup> If so, the identification of *complex antiphony* in Psalm 46 supports a similar approach to Psalm 47.<sup>43</sup>

### *Šekel in Psalm III*

The mention of שֶׁקֶל טוב in Ps. III:10b (“good *šekel*, all those who practise”) remains obscure as long as *šekel* is interpreted as *understanding*.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, the expression לְכָל עֲשִׂיהֶם is hardly

<sup>38</sup> Kosmala (1978, p. 149) notices that “If we investigate the passages in which forms of the root *skl* play a prominent part, it strikes us that the overwhelming majority are reflections on the knowledge of God, His miracles and deeds in creation and history, His supreme power over all mankind, His will [...]”

<sup>39</sup> This is not to say that *complex antiphony* was restricted to the Israelite worship of YHWH. A hymn to El designed for *complex antiphony* has been identified at Ugarit, demonstrating the antiquity of this mode of performance. See Amzallag and Yona 2014.

<sup>40</sup> See Girard 1994, vol. 1, pp. 377–379.

<sup>41</sup> After combining the distant verses of Psalm 47, Zucker (2007, p. 166) compares the composite text with the edited version and concludes: “When restructured, this psalm’s messages are more obvious, emphatic, and make greater sense.” Instead of assuming that the psalm was designed for *complex antiphony*, however, Zucker suggests that the present structure of this psalm (as well as others) is the result of post-editing modifications that changed the ranking order of the verses. Already in 1896, Zenner broached a similar hypothesis in his book *Die Chorgesänge*.

<sup>42</sup> Mailliot and Lelièvre 1969, vol. 1, p. 292; Schäder 2010, pp. 141–147. Condamin (1933, p. 145) even assumes that Psalms 46 and 47 constitute a single poetic entity.

<sup>43</sup> Amzallag 2015a.

<sup>44</sup> The expression *šekel tôb* is generally translated as “good understanding”. See Forti and Glatt-Gilad 2015, p. 6 for review. However, the emphasis on the “good” nature of the “understanding” remained problematic for many authors, as revealed by the multiplicity of interpretations proposed for this expression: Briggs and Briggs (1906, vol. 2, p. 382)

compatible with simple praise of those who love wisdom, because the verb עשה refers to a genuine action rather than an intellectual process of understanding. Furthermore, the plural masculine suffix in עֲשִׂיהֶם cannot refer to wisdom (feminine singular); instead, it denotes those who practise what is here called *śekel*.

The musical dimension of the interpretation of *śekel* in Ps. 111:10b is supported by the reference to musical praising in the subsequent cola (“*His praise endures forever!*”—Ps. 111:10c).<sup>45</sup> It is also confirmed by the explicit reference to musical performance in the use of שִׁכֵּל טוב in 2 Chron. 33:22 and by evidence that Psalms 111 and 112 have been identified as two parts of one opus designed for *complex antiphony*.<sup>46</sup> This feature confirms that *śekel* here refers to this mode of performance and that Ps. 111:10b praises those who perform it successfully.

### *The Ezrahite connection*

Some of the headings associate *maskil* with the Asaphite, Qorahite, or Ezrahite guilds of singers.<sup>47</sup> A calculation of the affinity index between *maskil* and each of these groups reveals that *maskil* is especially connected with the Ezrahites (Table 3). This collective has been identified as a group of singers of Edomite/Seirite origin who migrated to Jerusalem in the early post-exilic period.<sup>48</sup> Their mention (explicit or implicit) in post-exilic writings indicates that the post-exilic community appointed them to promote the musical worship of YHWH, especially in its complex antiphonal mode, in Jerusalem.<sup>49</sup> This is another element that links *maskil* in psalm headings with the performance of *complex antiphony*.

	Asaphites	Korahites	Ezrahites
Number of headings mentioning the corporation	12	11	2
Expected co-occurrence with <i>maskil</i>	1.039	0.952	0.173
Observed co-occurrence with <i>maskil</i>	2	4	2
Affinity index	0.316	0.615	0.840

Table 3. *Association of maskil with the different corporations of singers in Psalm heading*

The expected co-occurrence of *maskil* and each corporation is calculated as the product of the probability of occurrence of *maskil* with the total number of psalms, among the Psalter, mentioning the corporation in the heading. The affinity index (AI[Xi]) is calculated as in Table 2.

interpreted it as “sound understanding”, a synonym of wisdom, and Dahood (1968, vol. 3, p. 125) as the understanding (= *śekel*) of YHWH (*tôb* = *the good One*). For Kraus (1989, vol. 2, p. 355), this expression evokes a “beautiful reward” reserved for all who act according to “it.”

<sup>45</sup> Briggs and Briggs 1906, vol. 2, p. 382. For Gestenberger (2001, vol. 2, p. 272), “*The very last line [Ps. 110:10c] dominates the prayer as a ‘hymn’ (tēhillāh).*”

<sup>46</sup> Amzallag 2015b, pp. 190–219.

<sup>47</sup> Psalms 74, 78 (Asaph); Psalms 42, 44, 45, 88 (Qorah); and Psalms 88, 89 (Ezrahite).

<sup>48</sup> Amzallag 2015b, pp. 18–32 and references therein.

<sup>49</sup> Amzallag 2015b, pp. 53–73.

## Discussion

### *Maskil and complex antiphony*

The foregoing considerations indicate that the word *maskil* in the headings of psalms does not refer to the genre of the psalm. Instead, it is a technical term that relates to musical performance. Its use in reference to *complex antiphony* is deduced here from the meaning of the root *škl* and the connection between *maskil* and rare musical instructions, as well as the Ezraite congregation. This view is confirmed by specific mention of the difficulties inherent to this mode of performance and a series of evidences that link *maskil* with psalms designed for this mode of performance. We may therefore conclude that *maskil* designates *complex antiphony* and, by extension, the conductor of this mode of performance. The term *šekel* also seems to relate to a song conceived for *complex antiphony*.

One may argue that many psalms that have already been identified as designed for *complex antiphony* (e.g., 46, 67, 87, 100, 114, 121, 122, 126, and 128) lack a *maskil* instruction in their headings. This, however, cannot serve as a counterargument, because Psalm 14, which strongly resembles Psalm 53, also lacks *maskil* in its heading. If so, *maskil* serves only as a *facultative* instruction for *complex antiphony*.

### *Etymological considerations*

Many scholars assume the coexistence of distinct *škl* roots in Semitic languages. According to the *BDB* and the *DCH* dictionaries, a first root should refer to a basic figurative meaning (*BDB*: *to be prudent*; *DCH*: *to be wise/successful*), from which all the other figurative meanings derive, whereas a second *škl* root carries the concrete meaning of *laying crosswise*. The *DCH* even assumes the existence of a third root *škl* (= *to rhapsodise*) that explains its occurrence in a musical context.<sup>50</sup>

This separation of *škl* into three distinct roots is contested by scholars who notice that a figurative extension of the action of binding / crossing leads easily to concepts such as being successful, understanding, and even the amplification of intellectual capacities.<sup>51</sup> Given that the crosswise bonding of verse segments is the essential characteristic of *complex antiphony*, the musical dimension of *škl* easily fits into such a common family of meanings. This conclusion suggests the following evolution of the *škl* root in the Canaanite / Hebrew languages:

- (i) The primary meaning of *škl* (*qal* stem) is *to bind, to attach two separate entities*.
- (ii) The accentuated meaning of *škl* (*pi'el* stem) expresses an improved way to attach separate entities: cross-bonding, a much stronger act than simple lapping expressed through the *qal* stem.
- (iii) The use of the *hif'il* stem of *škl* (literally—an action involving the binding of elementary pieces) may be easily used to designate a *successful action*, because the bonding of disparate elements affords the creation of complex and highly efficient artefacts (tools, weapons, carpentry works, ceramics, jewels, and so on).

<sup>50</sup> *BDB*, p. 968; *DCH* vol. 8, pp. 150–153.

<sup>51</sup> Blau 1957, p. 101; Gertner 1962, p. 23; Koenen 2004, p. 113; and *HALOT*, vol. 3, p. 1329.



The use of *leḥaskîl* to designate a successful action is specifically encountered in pre-exilic biblical writings, suggesting that it is the basic meaning of the *hifil* stem of *škl*. The other uses, relating to musical performance and intellectual capacities, wisdom, and didactic features, belong almost exclusively to post-exilic writings.<sup>52</sup> If the use of *leḥaskîl* to designate intellectual capacities simply represents an abstraction of the act of bonding elements together or its successful consequences, there is no reason for this meaning to remain ignored in pre-exilic biblical writings. Its emergence and extensive use in the early post-exilic period, however, invites associating it with the extensive development, at this time, of the complex antiphonal practice itself designated as *leḥaskîl* because it requires the abnormal bonding of distant segments of the text. This explanation fits very well the intellectual competences required for fully understanding this mode of poetry, and its beneficial effect on improving cleverness. These considerations invite interpreting the intellectual/didactic dimension of meaning of *leḥaskîl* as a secondary use derived from the designation of *complex antiphony*.

### *The forgotten musical dimension of meaning*

Among the secondary meanings of *leḥaskîl* in use in Israel at the post-exilic period, the one that relates to intellectual capacities rapidly became dominant whereas the other, evoking *complex antiphony*, has been forgotten. In Qumran, for example, *maskîl* in psalm superscript indicates its belonging to the wisdom genre.<sup>53</sup> It also became a technical term that denotes the teacher who instructs members and novices of the sect in knowledge of YHWH.<sup>54</sup>

This trend is corroborated by ignorance of the meaning of *maskîl* in the Septuagint. This problem, recurring in regard to other musical instructions,<sup>55</sup> shows that traditional knowledge of the musical worship of YHWH was lost between the redaction of Chronicles (probably in the fourth century BCE), in which *maskîl šekel* clearly designates *complex antiphony*, and the Septuagint translation (second century BCE). This means that, during this relatively short interval, musical performance at the temple underwent a reformation so important that *complex antiphony* ceased and its designation even became forgotten. We may wonder about the origin of this hiatus in musical traditions as Beckwith did before: “Why should it have ceased? Was the temple at the mercy of revolutionary musical fashions? Or did the difficulties of the Levites, which Nehemiah

<sup>52</sup> Koenen 2004, p. 117.

<sup>53</sup> For Johnson (2013, p. 175), “The MTP [Maskil Thanksgiving Prayer] is an intercessory prayer belonging to the repertoire of the Maskil, which enables him to model the sectarian practice of prayer and instruct his audience to participate in sectarian piety.”

<sup>54</sup> This is especially observable in the Qumran texts, in which *maskîl* designates the teacher, instructor, and exegete of texts and songs for the community. See Kosmala 1978, p. 154. Newsom (1990, p. 382) stresses the function of the *maskîl* as the leader of the Qumran community by virtue of his wisdom and not his poetic and musical capacities: “While all members of the group aspired to insight and knowledge, it was the member known as the *maskîl* who stood at the head of a hierarchy of knowledge [...]. The superior gift of knowledge that God has given to the *maskîl* made him also the one who could guide the members of the community into the experience of the wonders of the heavenly realm and even show them how such knowledge might be used....”

<sup>55</sup> As Beckwith (1995, pp. 10–11) observes, “When the Septuagint version of the Psalter was made, probably no later than the early second century BC, the psalm-titles were clearly a problem to the translator. He adds to them, sometimes in interesting, sometimes in absurd ways, but he regularly misunderstands and mistranslates the musical directions, which apparently were no longer understood.”



*attempted to remedy (Neh. 13:10–14), and which later recurred, lead to them totally forsaking the Temple and to their singers forgetting their art?*”<sup>56</sup> But this reality clarifies why *complex antiphony* is totally ignored in writings from late Antiquity (Philo, Josephus, Mishna, and Talmud) that recall musical worship at the temple. The loss of the meaning of *maskill/šekel* also aims for the occurrence of deep transformations, during the time interval separating the redaction of Chronicles and the Septuagint translation, which created a hiatus between the religious beliefs and practices evoked in the Bible and those that developed in late Antiquity on their basis.

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<sup>56</sup> Beckwith 1995, p. 15.

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# Archaeological research at Tappeh Pahlavan, North Khorasan Province (Northeastern Iran): Report on the 2014 season

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## Abstract

*In the summer of 2014, an Iranian-German team carried out the first systematic excavations at Tappeh Pahlavan. The site is located in the Jarjam plain, a corridor between the Alborz Mountains in the north and the vast Dasht-e Khavir in the south. The surface of the site itself is littered with ceramics and the remains of an intensive production of stone beads. All stages of production are represented: from coarsely shaped pieces to finished polished beads. The most recent <sup>14</sup>C datings place the upper settlement horizon in the early sixth millennium BC. The site thus provides the earliest dates for the ceramic Neolithic period in Northeast Iran.*

*The finds display clear ties with the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods in Northeast Iran, and can be correlated with the cultural sphere of Kopet Dagħ, located c. 200 km to the east. A large part of the retrieved ceramics can be described as a local Cheshmeh Ali variant. This ware would then be c. 500 years older than the hitherto known sequences, which as a rule begin after the mid-sixth millennium BC. Moreover, Djeitun ceramics, so characteristic for Northeast Iran and southern Turkmenistan and representative of the Late Neolithic in this region, are absent in Pahlavan. Hence, the question arises as to whether an early Chalcolithic must be postulated here, or an early manifestation of a local Cheshmeh Ali horizon.*

## Introduction

Tappeh Pahlavan, located in the vicinity of Jarjam city in the Northeast Iranian province of North Khorasan, was first archaeologically investigated by an Iranian-German team and under the direction of the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research (ICAR) province office of North Khorasan during the summer of 2014.<sup>1</sup> Like a corridor, the Jarjam plain is situated between the Aladağ mountain range in the west, the Atrak valley in the north and the Dasht-e Khavir in the south; hence, it experiences semi-arid to arid climate conditions (Figs 1, 2). Modern

<sup>1</sup> Team members of the 2014 season were M. J. Jafari (CHTO N-Khorasan) and H. Azizi (Deputy of Cultural Heritage), Morteza Khanipoor, R. Koohpayeh, Sh. Kalantar (University of Tehran) and J. Thomalsky (German Archaeological Institute, Berlin).

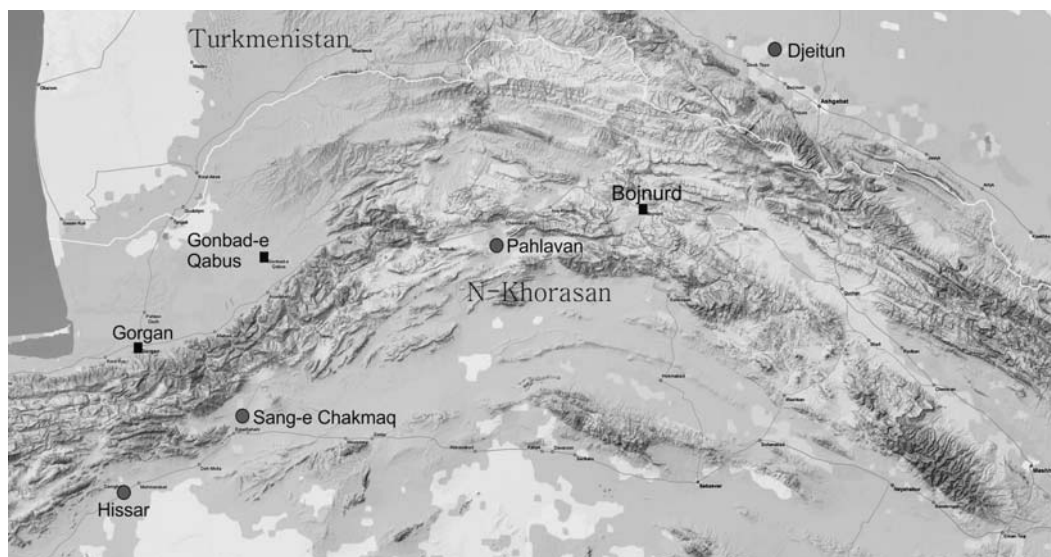


Fig. 1. Location of Tappeh Pahlavan in N-Khorasan Province, Iran.

occupation is limited due to the infrequent rainfall. Intensive artificial irrigation is necessary, as can be seen in efforts —ultimately abandoned—to cultivate the direct vicinity of the ancient site. Two lines of *qanats* pass the ancient site, running WNW–ESE to the major system in the west, in front of the Aladağ foothills.

North Khorasan Province can be regarded as an unknown area on the archaeological map, though located between two regions that were densely occupied in historical periods: the Damghān plain with Hissar Tappeh; and Sharud Plain with the aforementioned Sang-e-Chakmaq in the west and Kopet Dag mountain ridge (Turkmenia) in the east, both of which had occupation sequences from the sixth millennium BC onwards (Fig. 1). While prehistoric settlements in those regions are located along alluvial fans, the central valleys were first occupied and cultivated through new irrigation techniques during the Achaemenid period. The internal area of Tappeh Pahlavan, surrounded by an enclosure wall, covers only 0.04 ha, in contrast to other sites of the Chakmaq/Jeitun period in Northeast Iran.<sup>2</sup> One major aim of the first official investigations in Tappeh Pahlavan was to draw the limits of the site, and to explore areas where undisturbed prehistoric cultural layers can be expected for future excavation trenches. Another focus is the dating of the surrounding wall of the site, which is still very clearly visible, including 12 bastion-like annexes (Fig. 3).

The surface is covered with many artefacts of bead production, and pottery that can be dated to the Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic horizon. Radiocarbon analyses that were conducted in 2014 on samples from selected contexts cover the early sixth millennium BC (see below). This discovery positions Pahlavan as one of the earliest pottery Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic sites in Northeast Iran. Indeed, a large amount of the pottery can be designated local variants of the

<sup>2</sup> Basafa and Rezaei 2014; Roustaei 2009.





Fig. 2. The central mound, and the site including the surrounding wall, in the arid landscape.

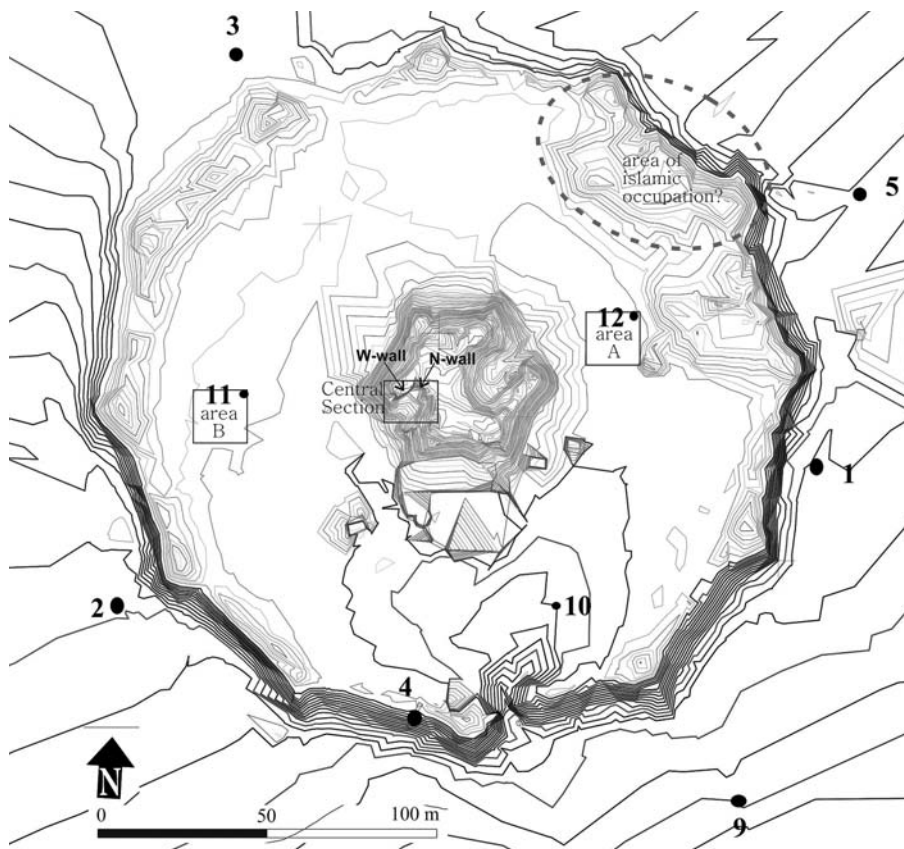


Fig. 3. Topographic map of the site, with test trenches 1-12 (points).



Cheshmeh Ali and Zagheh Wares that actually appear around 5500 BC in the Northern Iranian Plateau in the “Transitional Chalcolithic” period. Future work will concern questions such as the rise of the Neolithic lifestyle in the Jarjam plain, and the establishment of a local sequence and its correlation to socio-cultural processes in Northeast Iran and adjacent regions (e.g., Kelteminarian and Djeitun).

## The Site

Tappeh Pahlavan was first put on the archaeological map by the Japanese mission at Sang-e Chakhmaq, who visited and described the site in the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> In 1991, R. A. Labaf mentioned three prehistoric sites of Neolithic-Chalcolithic age in the Jarjam vicinity (Tappeh Hidarvan, Tappeh Pahlavan, Kalateh Hassan).<sup>4</sup> A. Hozhabri registered, in a systematic survey in 2009, more than 165 archaeological monuments,<sup>5</sup> and most recently, A. Vahdati from ICHTO North Khorasan described Tappeh Pahlavan as a prehistoric site with a central mound and enclosing wall, of later Islamic occupation.<sup>6</sup> He highlighted the unusual bastion-shaped structure of the surrounding wall, the preserved brickwork up to 2 m above the central mound, and vault constructions in the northeastern area that were attributed to the Islamic period (Figs 3, 4). Adjoining the southern part of the central mound are a barn and goat shed, still in use by the landowner.

Due to the fieldwork season in 2014 being very short (three weeks), 12 small sondages of 1 × 1 m were opened inside and outside the wall in order to determine the extent of the ancient settlement and depth of the cultural layers (Fig. 3). One trench cuts the surrounding wall (trench No. 4). The profiles of the brick walls of the central mound and enclosure wall, as well as the salvage pits dug into the Islamic-period vault constructions, were cleaned and documented.

Two of the *qanats* were examined in order to find any stratigraphical patterns, but no cultural layer or feature could be observed. However, it seems that the prehistoric occupation was limited by the enclosure wall. In the enclosed area, two sections, referred to as A and B, each 10×10 m in size and respectively the enlargements of trenches no. 11 and 12, were systematically collected and sampled in order to analyse the surface material on a more statistical basis.

### *The central mound: “Central section”*

The central mound consists of heavily eroded parts, such as a depression running northwest–southeast through its major axis, and of animal pits, the barn, and other kinds of intrusions (Figs 3, 5). Particularly in the western part of the central mound—the so-called *central section*—*chinéh* and mudbrick walls are still preserved to 3 m in height and 5 m in length. After cleaning and documenting the profiles, it became clear from the cleaned section and profile that these walls differ significantly in the type of construction but are obviously joined and thus of the same

<sup>3</sup> Masuda 1975.

<sup>4</sup> Labafkhaniki 1992.

<sup>5</sup> Hozhabri 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Vahdati 2010.



Fig. 4. Modern pits dug into Islamic contexts.



Fig. 5. Western area of the Central mound, view from S.



Fig. 6. Northern profile and eastern profile of the Central Section.

building phase. While the “western wall” is clearly of brickwork (Fig. 6a), the “northern wall” (Fig. 6b) yields no trace of bricks but appears to be a *chinéh* construction with some continuous joints and joined wall parts in the upper levels.

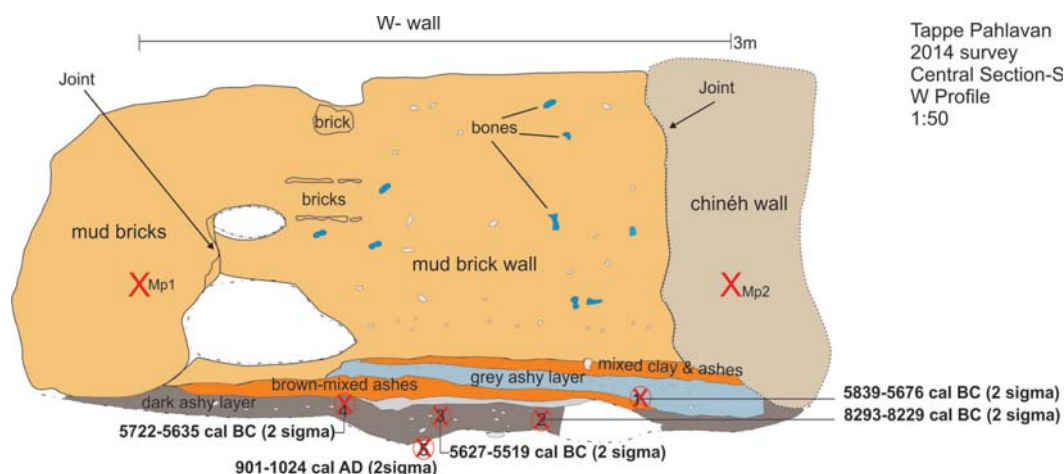
The horizontal area in front of these two walls was cleaned, and consisted of a very soft, ashy room filling without any finds. Actually, this horizon runs under the lower edge of the two walls, and seems to continue below that. Directly above the room filling but stratigraphically clearly disconnected, a thin but solid layer with intensive blackish parts and burnt clay can be observed in the W-Profile just below the western wall. Out of this horizon, five samples for radiocarbon analyses were collected. The samples consist mainly of simple burnt organic material—simply charcoal—and are thus of reliable value. The results are given in Fig. 7a–b. Interestingly, all samples that were collected from the profile layer below the western wall match the sixth millennium BC. A single outlier (sample no. 5) comes from the burnt surface beneath the profile and may imply a modern utilisation of this area. One more charcoal sample (No. 7) from sondage II (Fig. 3) further underlines a dating of the prehistoric layers of Pahlavan to the sixth millennium BC (albeit the last third of it). However, these data should be considered as being of only minor value, although they give a surprising hint for the dating of the middle and upper layers of the central mound.

### *Fortification wall*

The enclosure wall that surrounded the central mound and its inner area of 160 × 160 m can be regarded as a fortification wall. A characteristic feature is the prominent bastion-like extensions (Fig. 3). An open area in the northern wall appears to be an intended entrance passage, while in the southeast, the wall has been partly destroyed and worn out through seasonal water drainages (Fig. 8). This area, including a W-profile of the wall measuring 3 × 2 m, was cleaned and documented. The larger part of the wall—c. 2 m in width—consists of *chinéh*. On the inner face it appears that mud bricks were attached in a younger phase of construction—a pattern similar to the wall structures in the *central section*. No sherds or other material were found in the investigated area. We can, however, suggest at least two construction phases for both the central mound and the enclosure wall that can be differentiated through the usage of either *chinéh* or mud bricks. The application of the probable younger “mudbrick phase” must have taken place when the *chinéh* walls were still in a good state of preservation. Whether both phases were erected during the Chalcolithic period or whether they demonstrate a sequence of re-usage and extension during the historical occupation (when the Islamic building was also erected) remains unclear in this preliminary stage of investigations in Tappeh Pahlavan.

Interestingly, surface finds outside the enclosed area were only observed in this southern part, most probably washed out as a result of the seasonal drainages, while no other evidence of prehistoric occupation outside the wall was observable (see below). This pattern provides important arguments for the dating of the wall, which, as A. Vahdati already suggested, was a prehistoric foundation.<sup>7</sup> Again, this question can only be further resolved with the help of future investigations.

<sup>7</sup> Vahdati 2010, p. 13 n. 5.



Lab.No. MAMS	Sample name	C14-Age	variation +-	13C	cal 1 sigma	cal 2 sigma
21535	1-TP_2014_S001	5872	33	-33,1	cal BC 5784-5719	cal BC 5839-5676
21536	2-TP_2014_S002	9032	35	-21,6	cal BC 8280-8248	cal BC 9293-8229
21537	3-TP_2014_S003	6642	30	-29,7	cal BC 5617-5557	cal BC 5627-5519
21538	4-TP_2014_S004	6780	30	-13,8	cal BC 5711-5657	cal BC 5722-5635
21539	5-TP_2014_S005	1051	25	-33,7	cal AD 982-1017	cal AD 901-1024
21540	7-TP_2014_S007	6225	29	-12,3	cal BC 5291-5090	cal BC 5299-5069

Fig. 7a-b. 14-C results from the W-Profile in the Central Section (samples are marked in red). Sample No. 7 (5299–5069 cal BC) stems from lowest layer of test trench 12, located at the Eastern inner settlement area. Radiocarbon analyses are made by CEZA, Mannheim (R. Friedrich).



Fig. 8. Southern part of surrounding wall: cleaned w-profile (with no trace of lined bricks).

### *Test trenches 11 and 12 and systematic surface collection in areas A and B*

Concerning the series of soundings to determine the extent of the site, it was agreed to open 12 sondages (So11 – So12) of 1 × 1 m each. Eight sondages (So01-002-003-005-006-007-008-009) are situated beyond the fortification wall, while sondages So10, So11 and So12 are distributed between the wall and the central mound. Trench no. So04 cuts into the southern wall and exposes the wall profiles. Two areas of 10 × 10 m in size—area A in the eastern part of the settlement and area B in the western part—were selected for systematic surface sampling. Overall, the collections from the surfaces (= locus 001) of all sondages and areas A and B consist of pieces (mostly fragments of knapping activities) smaller than 5 mm in size. The deposits of the excavated sondages (loci 2–3) were systematically sieved, with the aim of locating all remains of the intensive bead production at the site.

### **Finds from the Surface and Sondages**

In regard to the excavated sondages, surprisingly little material came to light: nothing at all was found in So01–10, while trenches So11 and So12 yielded prehistoric pottery, lithics and artefacts of bead production until the lowermost levels. Both So11 and So12 exhibited a cultural sequence of c. 1.5 m thickness in total that can be differentiated as a brownish clay layer and a softer clay-ash fill in the lower depth. While this obviously indicates stratigraphical sequencing, the archaeological material consists of a mixture of late Neolithic/Chalcolithic pottery (see below). Finally, the lack of archaeological material in sondage So10 is notable, located as it is in the southern part of the site, which is particularly affected by geomorphological impacts.

As concerns the systematic surface collections, it can be stated that area A yielded three times more pottery sherds than area B. On the other hand, artefacts of bead production (raw material pieces, semi-finished productions and the beads) were present in similar quantities in both areas. Further, it should be noted that both areas provided only few Islamic or historic sherds, despite the fact that an Islamic building was possibly erected in the eastern area of the site.

### *Bead Production*

The inventories from both surface collections and test trenches are characterised by artefacts of bead production (Fig. 9). All steps of the *chaîne opératoire* are represented: roughly preformed raw material pieces and semi-finished beads, as well as the broken end-products of failed drilling. Related drilling and piercing tools complete the picture of an intensive bead production at Tappeh Pahlavan in the sixth millennium BC.

The majority of beads were made from white and greenish gypsum and serpentine, all locally available southwest of Jajarm.<sup>8</sup> A smaller percentage are made from red and yellow jasper, for which the sources are unknown (Fig. 10c). A very rare find is the small lapis lazuli bead (?) from surface area A (Fig. 10b: upper row, right).

<sup>8</sup> Vahdati 2010, p. 19.



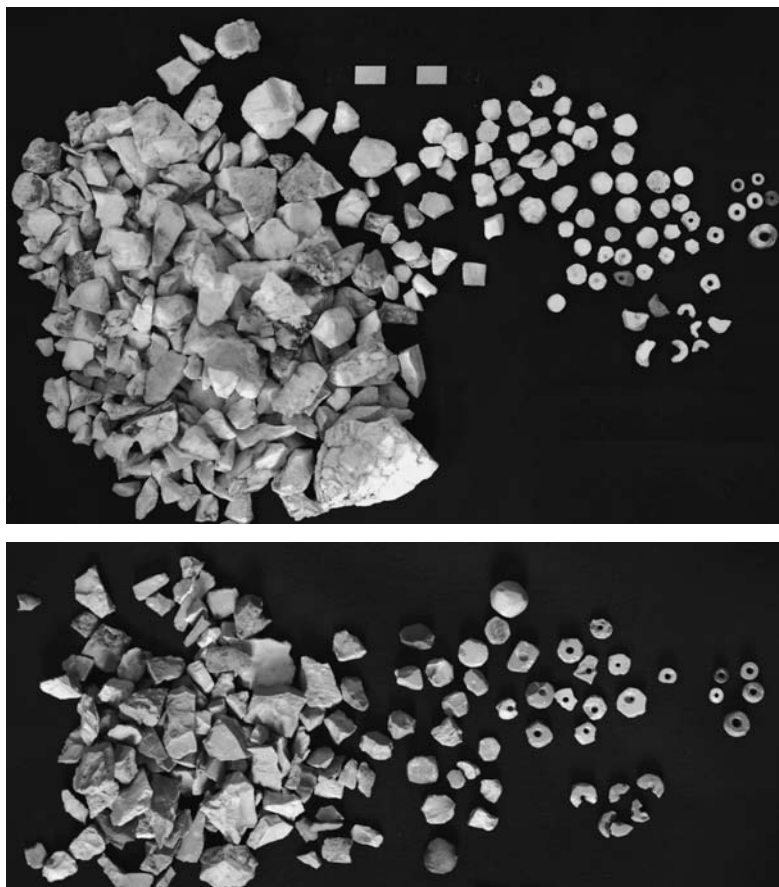


Fig. 9. Artefacts of stone bead production: raw material and rounded-cut pieces, drilled rounded and semi-finished beads, broken beads (from surface collections area A and B).

A singular piece has an adze-like shape (Fig. 10c: right), but most beads either belong to a cylindrical type or have a rather simple flat round shape—they have one perforation. In terms of the different stages of modification, the raw material (blocks) was crushed into chunks of  $15 \times 15$  mm in size, and then either modified into bullets or rounded/flattened preforms. The bullets were further cut into slices, from which the flat circular shapes and also rectangular/asymmetrical outlines were made by rasping and polishing. The perforation was made before the finishing—indeed, this makes sense, since the perforation is actually the most sensitive phase of production; if this procedure did not fail (or result in broken pieces), the final step, in the form of polishing, was executed (Fig. 10d). The bullets may also have delivered the blanks for the cylindrical shapes.

Beside the “bullets-into-slice technique”, the crushed material pieces were also directly modified into the favoured shape through deliberate flaking and rasping that can be identified as a different *chaîne opératoire*.

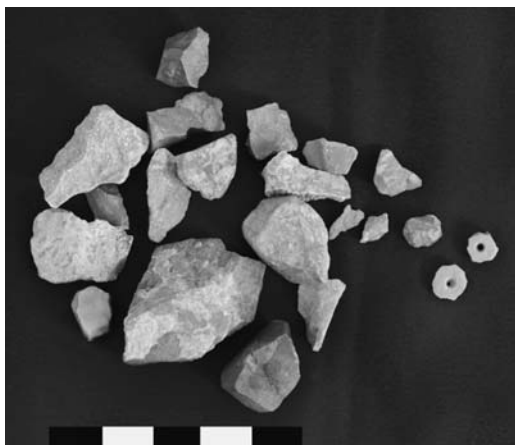


Fig. 10a. Reddish jasper for bead production.

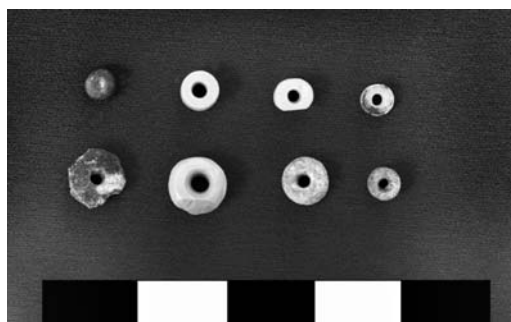


Fig. 10b. Other rare material such as lapis lazuli (upper row left).



Fig. 10c. Unfinished beads made from yellowish jasper.

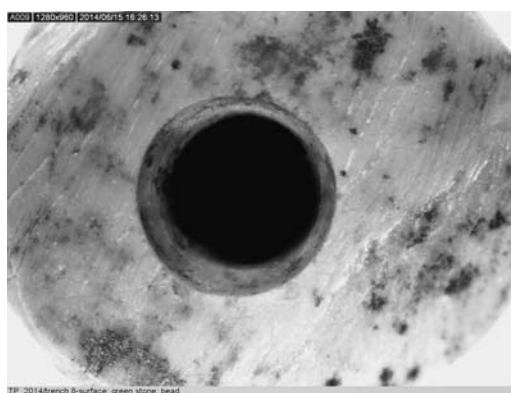


Fig. 10d. Macroscopic photography of the surface of a stone bead with typical traces of polish-finishing (horizontal and oblique striations) and spalled parts.

### *Lithic artefacts*

The preliminary examination of the chipped stone artefacts from the surface collections and soundings demonstrates an almost exclusive association with the stone bead production (Figs 11–16). Almost 80 per cent of the lithic finds belong to the category either of drilling or piercing tools or of appropriated debris. Cores and core residues (Fig. 12) indicate microblade production on site. Very few other tool groups can be identified, among them notched and backed blades (Fig. 11). In most cases, the edges show use-wear in the form of fine but irregular nibbling and abrasions. Only five blades have glossy edges and can be classified as sickle implements. Microlithic geometrics, in the form of asymmetric triangles and lunates, are to be highlighted as characteristic key tools of the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic inventories





Fig. 11. Lithic blade industry.



Fig. 12. Lithic blade cores.

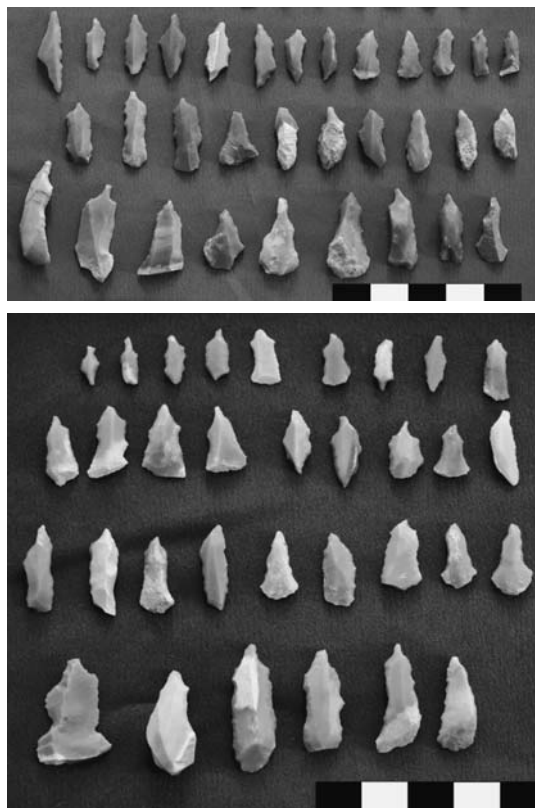


Fig. 13a–b. Drilling and piercing tools (from various contexts/surfaces).

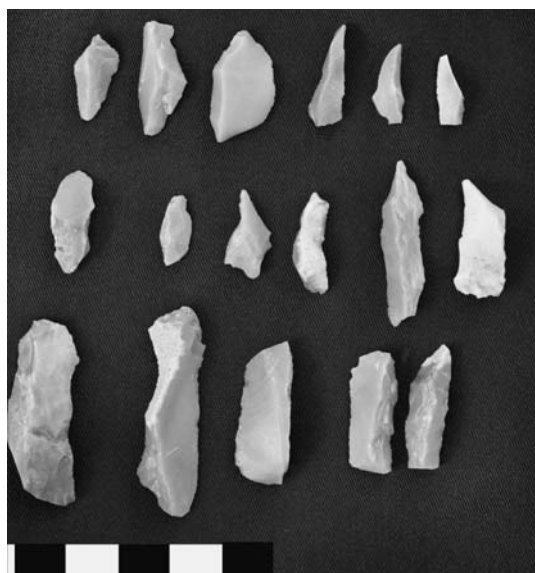


Fig. 13c. Blank categories for the drilling implements.

in Iran (Fig. 15). Due to the very preliminary state of the investigations in Tappeh Pahlavan, it is only possible to note that the blanks used for the geometrics appear to be irregular rather than a deliberate manufacture. Finally, flakes and bladelets should be mentioned, made from translucent chalcedony (Fig. 16) that appears to be local, since matching nodules are scattered around the Jajarm plain.

The specialised tool industry for bead manufacture used exclusively a fine, light brown semi-translucent flint (Fig. 13a–c). Again, approximately 90 per cent of the drilling tools are characterised by broken or heavily abraded tips. The drilling and piercing implements can be divided into three technological groups according to blank selection (Fig. 13d): 1) drills that were made on thick short flakes, 2) drills made on crested blades or flakes and 3) drills made on bladelets. Groups 1) and 3) exhibit retouched drill tips in various lengths, while group 2) can be regarded as a long drill bit. The implements can be further divided into two major size classes: microlithic drills and “simple” drills. However, almost no tools reached “regular blade” sizes longer than 2 cm and wider than 1.5 cm.

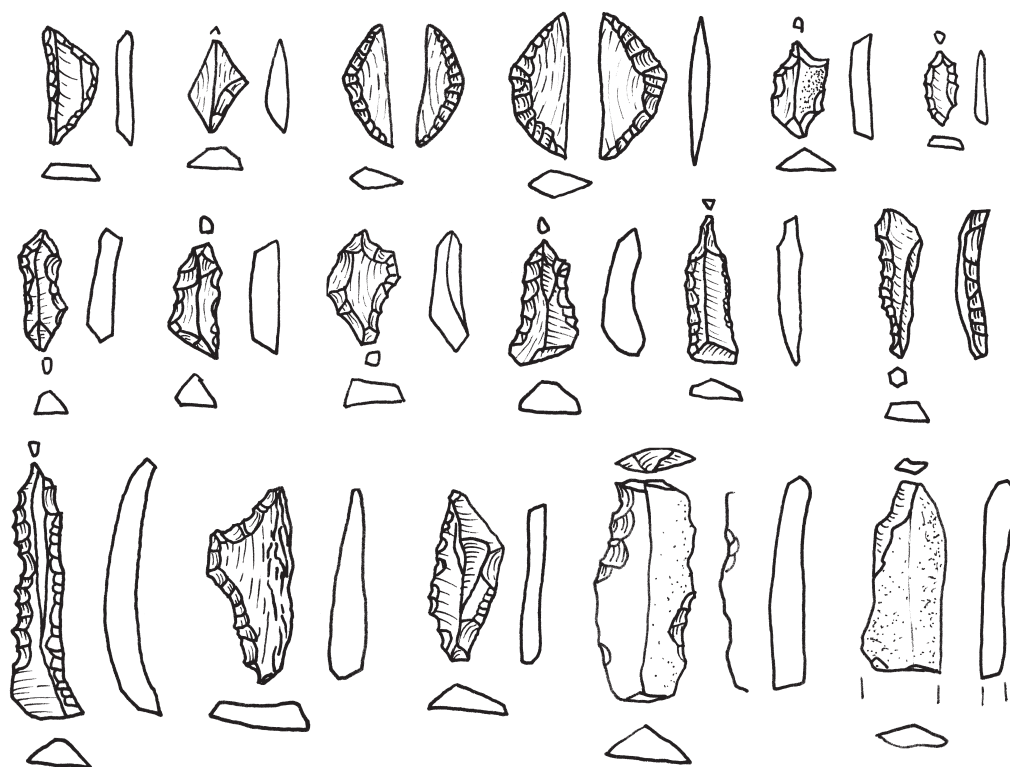


Fig. 14. Different lithic implements from Pahlavan: geometrics, drills and blade tools.



Fig. 15. Geometrics from Pahlavan.



Fig. 16. Chalcedony artefacts from Pahlavan (surface collections).



### *Pottery*

The ceramic material of Tappeh Pahlavan has already been described and classified by A. Vahdati.<sup>9</sup> According to him, five categories of wares can be identified and regarded as belonging to the Neolithic/Chalcolithic occupation, apart from the Islamic (plain buff and glazed) sherds.

All the prehistoric wares are of a similar character: handmade, and pinkish cream or brown-red in colour, the painted vessels were decorated with simple geometric patterns in black or dark brown. An exception is type 5, which exhibits traces of a slow wheel and different fabrication and surface treatment, and possibly dates into the end of the Chalcolithic. Further, Vahdati's type 2, which he labelled as a local Zagheh ware, should be assigned to the Transitional Chalcolithic as well, according to the new <sup>14</sup>C data from the Central Plateau.<sup>10</sup> In fact, type 2 from Pahlavan is of a medium handmade fabric with mineral/sandy temper and a cream to light brown slip, and is commonly decorated with a horizontal band of diagonal lines of red to dark brown paint (Fig. 17). In contrast, the "true" Zagheh ware of the Central Plateau is straw tempered. Pahlavan type 2 can thus generally be identified as a local variant, but its mineral temper indicates a significant technological differentiation that appears more related to the developed Chalcolithic pottery production.

The major part of the collected ceramic sherds in area A and B, gathered during the short season in 2014, belongs to the fine chaff- or straw-tempered wares, respectively the local Cheshmeh Ali (type 3) and Zagheh (type 2), indicating a more general dating to the Transitional Chalcolithic. Additionally, the sand-tempered type 4 appears in similar numbers. A more detailed examination of the sherds' surfaces reveals a high number of painted pieces. Due to the climate conditions, erosion, and characteristic effects on surface material in general, the painting has often been exfoliated. Simple horizontal bands, ladder motives and wavy lines dominate the decoration of the earlier wares, but become more extensive on the developed type 5 potteries (Figs 17, 19–20).

Finally, mention should be made of perforated sherds and ceramic rings or crescents (?) as specific types of ceramic objects, as well as three fragments of clay figurines that were found in sondage 11 (located in Area B) locus 2, the lower cultural horizon in the settlement area (Fig. 18).

### *Other materials*

Aside from the extensive evidence of bead production and lithic industry, almost nothing can be said about any other manufacture in Tappeh Pahlavan. Only a very few fragments of stone vessels and ground stone artefacts (in fact, one (!) hammer stone) were found in the surveyed areas A and B. One larger fragment of a polishing stone and a wedging stone—the former made from limestone, the latter from sandstone—are the only tools that indicate other activities that do not primarily belong to the bead or lithic production. The stones that were used for the construction of the modern barn also lack any evidence of worked ground stones or re-used artefacts.

<sup>9</sup> Vahdati 2010, pp. 14–15, figs 1–4.

<sup>10</sup> Fazeli Nashli *et al.* 2005; Malek Shahmirzadi 1977.



Fig. 17. Painted sherds of “Cheshmeh Ali” and “Zagheh” ware types.



Fig. 18. Drilled/repared sherds, and ceramic crescent (?).

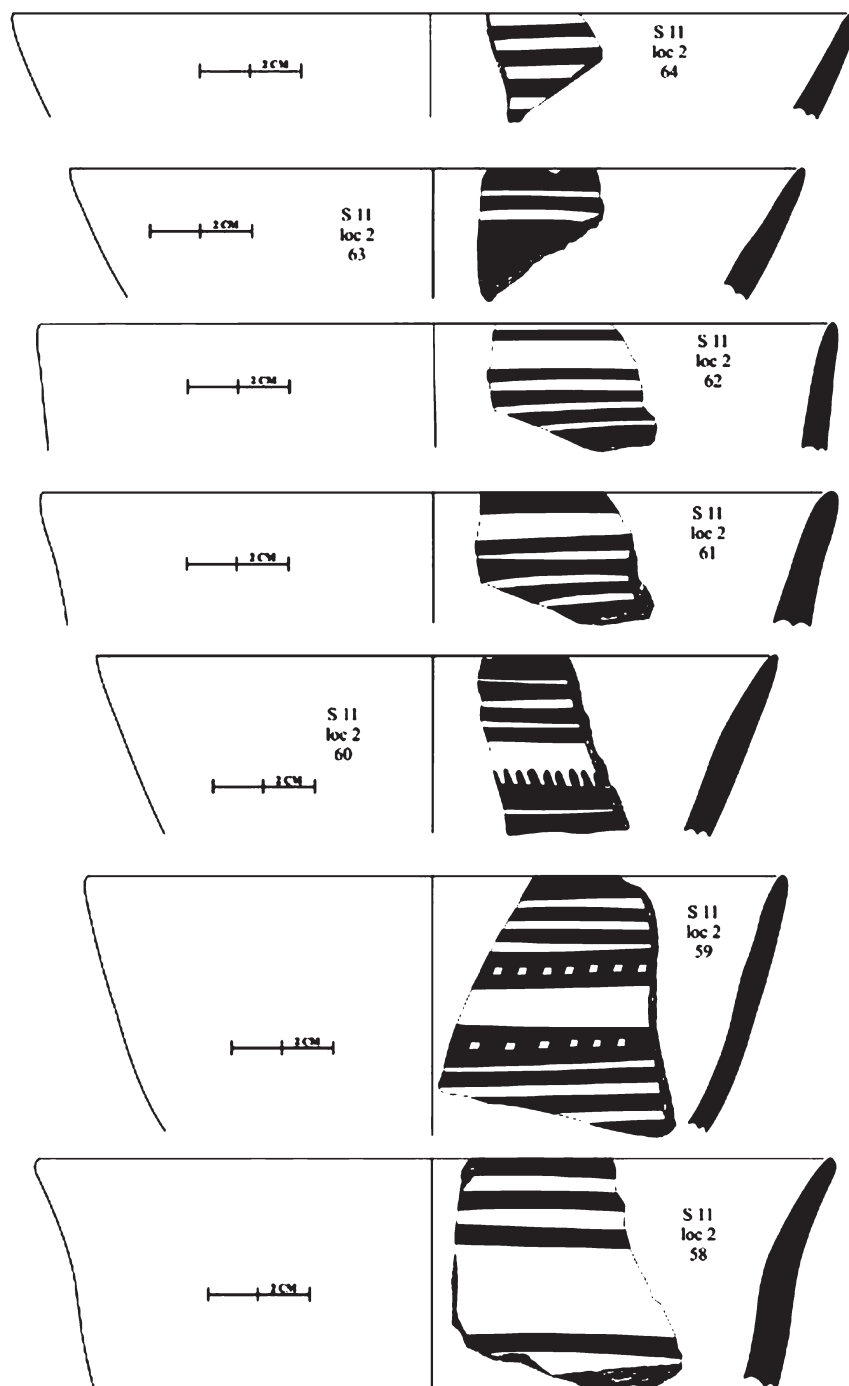


Fig. 19. Prehistoric pottery sherds of Tappeh Pahlavan.





Fig. 20. Prehistoric pottery sherds of Tappeh Pahlavan.

No	Part	Diameter (MM)	Thickness (MM)	Height (MM)	Technique	Surface color	Motif Type	Motiflocation	Thickness	Temper
55	Rim	19	3	90	Handmade	7.5 YR 6/4			Fine	Sandy- F size
56	Rim	18	2	61	Handmade	10 YR 6/3			Fine	Sandy- F size
57	Rim	30	4	49	Handmade	7.5 YR 7/4			Fine	Sandy- F size
58	Rim	16	4	47	Handmade	2.5 YR 6/6	Geometric	exterior	Fine	Sandy- F size
59	Rim	18	3	56	Handmade	2.5 YR 6/6	Geometric	exterior	Fine	Sandy- F size
60	Rim		4	39	Handmade	5 YR 7/4	Geometric	exterior	Fine	Sandy- F size
61	Rim		5	29	Handmade	2.5 YR 6/6	Geometric	exterior	Fine	Sandy- F size
62	Rim		5	29	Handmade	2.5 YR 6/6	Geometric	exterior	Fine	Sandy- F size
63	Rim		3	21	Handmade	2.5 YR 5/6	Geometric	exterior	Fine	Sandy- F size
64	Rim		2	20	Handmade	7.5 YR 5.2	Geometric	exterior	Fine	Sandy- F size
79	Rim		5	28	Handmade	2.5 YR 6/6			Fine	Sandy- F size

Table. 1. catalogue of pottery sherds / fig. 19-20.

## Conclusion

The prehistoric settlement area of Tappeh Pahlavan seems to be limited by the fortification wall, indicating a direct association and thus similar dating of both the prehistoric occupation and the wall. Taking into account the very first radiocarbon data from the site, the major settlement phase can be placed within the early sixth millennium BC, 5800–5600 cal. BC. This suggestion corresponds well with the low percentage of historic sherds that were distributed mainly in the eastern part of the area along the fortification wall near the disturbed vault constructions. Obviously, there remains the high possibility of a secondary usage of the walls during Islamic times, as strongly indicated by the historic building activities near the eastern section of the wall.

Though the 2014 investigations at Tappeh Pahlavan were conducted under very limited conditions and focused on a more general and preliminary documentation of the site, the archaeological material obtained—in particular the pottery—clearly exhibits connections to the Cheshmeh Ali cultural complex, which defines a Transitional Chalcolithic on the Iranian Central Plateau dating between 5500 and 4800BC.<sup>11</sup> However, the absolute data series from Pahlavan gives a sequence that is almost 500 years older. Similar evidence of a local Cheshmeh Ali variant that is chronologically determined into the Late Neolithic of Northeast Iran is reported from Aq Tappeh in Golestan, which, further, yielded so-called Zagheh type ceramics.<sup>12</sup>

The lithic material—especially the microdrills associated with the bead production—can be generally compared to the Hissar assemblage,<sup>13</sup> with its standardised microdrills made on blade-lets, though the latter is clearly younger of date; namely, the fourth millennium BC. Unfortunately, no detailed information is available from the Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic sites of the Shahrud and Nishapur region, only observations about their microlithic character in general.

More surprising is the lack of typical Jeitun pottery at Tappeh Pahlavan—the most representative type for the Neolithic of Northeast Iran. The little evidence of agricultural activities in combination with the overwhelming evidence of semi-precious stone processing suggests a strong, almost unilateral specialisation. The material reflects the broad *chaîne opératoire* of bead production, including the necessary stone tools, related debris and rejections (broken material). It follows that the end-products—the beads—were not only for local demand but their distribution may also have been well organised by the Pahlavan community.

Whether we are dealing with a very early Transitional Chalcolithic/Cheshmeh Ali can only be clarified through targeted investigations at the site. Similarly, any presumption concerning subsistence patterns and the socio-economical organisation of the Pahlavan community can only be explored through future investigations that are focused not only on the site Tappeh Pahlavan but also on its setting in the surrounding landscape, including the archaeological sequencing and geomorphological patterns of the Jajarm plain.

<sup>11</sup> Fazeli Nashli *et al.* 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Azarnoush and Helwing 2005. Other Cheshmeh-Ali inventories in northeast Iran (Aq Tappe, Sang-e Chaqmaq, Tureng Tepe, Yarim Tepe, Hotu and Belt in Gorgan, or the Anau sites) were generally dated to the fifth millennium BC and were considered the original pottery complex that expanded from northeast Iran and southwest Turkmenistan to the Northern Central Plateau: see recently Basafa and Rezaei 2014 (with references).

<sup>13</sup> Bulgarelli 1974.

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# Middle and Late Bronze Age Sites in Sarfirouzabad Plain, Western Central Zagros, Iran

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## Abstract

*From an archaeological point of view, the west of Iran has provided significant cultural-social evidence from different periods of prehistory. This region, which is mainly covered by the Central Zagros Mountains, has attracted many archaeologists and numerous surveys and excavations, which have been conducted in this area since the early 20th century and especially in the middle of that century. Nevertheless, the Sarfirouzabad Plain, located in the southern part of Kermanshah province and along the southern and southeastern side of Mahidasht great plain, despite its environmental and ecological potential, has not been studied properly except for some brief visits. The results of an intensive survey conducted in this plain by an expedition from Tehran University in 2009 provides us with useful information about the history of the region. Twenty-four sites from the Late and Middle Bronze Age (Godin III Culture) have been identified. Each of these sites is introduced in the present paper and the archaeological conditions of the region during the Late and Middle Bronze Age are discussed.\**

## INTRODUCTION

The Central Zagros, as a connecting bridge between the central Iranian plateau and the Mesopotamian lowlands, has played an important role in Middle Eastern archaeological studies. During more than 80 years, since Stein's visit to this region on his way to Great Khorasan in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1</sup> Central Zagros has been the subject of studies by many archaeologists. Stein's survey sketched the first landscape of archaeological investigation in Central Zagros. The Khorasan ancient route was the only major path connecting the Iranian Central Plateau to the Mesopotamian lowlands. In the Islamic texts from the Middle Ages, this route is referred to as the "Great Khorasan Road".<sup>2</sup> After Stein, attention turned to archaeological studies of the Late and Middle Bronze Age in the Central Zagros. One can probably relate the first phase of these

\* We would like to take the opportunity here to express our gratitude to all the members of the survey team for their great efforts during the fieldwork and to the CHHT office of Kermanshah Province for their kind consideration and support. We would also like to thank to Dr Francois Desset and Miss Maryam Mohamadi for their co-operation.

<sup>1</sup> Stein 1940.

<sup>2</sup> Abdi 1999, p. 33; Majidzadeh 1982, p. 59.

studies to the discovery of some ancient vessels in 1925 by Hertzfeld in Gilivran, a brief surface inspection of Giyan,<sup>3</sup> and the subsequent excavations at Giyan by Ghirshman and Contenau.<sup>4</sup>

Further excavations were conducted at Giyan for the next 50 years. The findings provided the chronological framework for the Late and Middle Bronze Ages in western Iran. The beginning of archaeological excavations in Godin in 1967 can be considered the second phase of Bronze Age studies in the region;<sup>5</sup> Godin was excavated during various seasons up until 1974.<sup>6</sup> The results obtained from the Godin III and IV excavations formed the basis of Central Zagros chronology in the Bronze Age.<sup>7</sup> Kangavar and Assadabad were two of five valleys Young examined in his 1961 reconnaissance, the “principal aim [of which] was to search for sites in the late second to early first millennium time range.”<sup>8</sup> Eight sites were identified as “Giyan IV/III” in the Kangavar valley. No Giyan II material was recognised.<sup>9</sup> According to this chronology, the contemporary cultures of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages have been designated “Godin III”, spanning the period from the mid-third millennium to the mid-second millennium BC.<sup>10</sup> The geographical distribution of this culture can be investigated within six regions, including eastern Garin Mountain, eastern Pish-i Kuh between Garin Mountain and Kuh-e Sefid, western Pish-i Kuh, the Mahidasht Plain, and Posht-i Kuh.<sup>11</sup> Within these regions, the low-lying valleys in mountainous areas have been surveyed during various expeditions. One of the most important valleys of this region is the Mahidasht Plain (north of Sarfirozabad Plain) (Fig. 1) which has been excavated during several seasons and has yielded evidence of Godin III settlements.<sup>12</sup> Godin III was a period during which settlement numbers increased markedly as a result of the population growth in the west of Iran. The primary activity of the first survey season was medium intensity survey by vehicle of the 4000 km<sup>2</sup> drainage basin. An area of 1700 km<sup>2</sup> was surveyed in transects 10 km wide.<sup>13</sup> Investigation of the geomorphological history of the valley and modern land use patterns was also begun.<sup>14</sup>

The results of the 1975 season demonstrated that stratigraphic soundings were necessary to establish the regional ceramic sequence. The Royal Ontario Museum excavations at Godin Tepe and Seh Gabi in the Kangavar valley, *c.* 100 km to the east, had established the ceramic sequence there, but for much of the prehistoric period it was found to be irrelevant to the Mahidasht.<sup>15</sup> For example, no Godin IV burnished grey ware was found and no other assemblage was then recognised as belonging to the first half of the third millennium BC. In the 1978 season, soundings were made to establish the Neolithic–Chalcolithic and first millennium BC ceramic chronology. The sounding done at the site of Gakieh in an attempt to establish the late second millennium (Iron I–II) sequence instead yielded Parthian and Godin III material, but all contexts were badly disturbed.

<sup>3</sup> Haerinck and Overlaet 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Contenau and Ghirshman 1935.

<sup>5</sup> Young 1969a, 1969b.

<sup>6</sup> Young and Levin 1974; Young and Smith 1966, p. 389.

<sup>7</sup> Gopnik and Rothman 2011.

<sup>8</sup> Young 1966, p. 228.

<sup>9</sup> Young 1966, pp. 231–238.

<sup>10</sup> Henrickson 1986.

<sup>11</sup> Henrickson 1987, p. 206.

<sup>12</sup> Schmidt 1940; Stein 1940; Braidwood 1961.

<sup>13</sup> Levine 1976b, p. 295.

<sup>14</sup> Levine 1974, p. 487; Levine 1973; 1976b, p. 284.

<sup>15</sup> Levine 1976a.

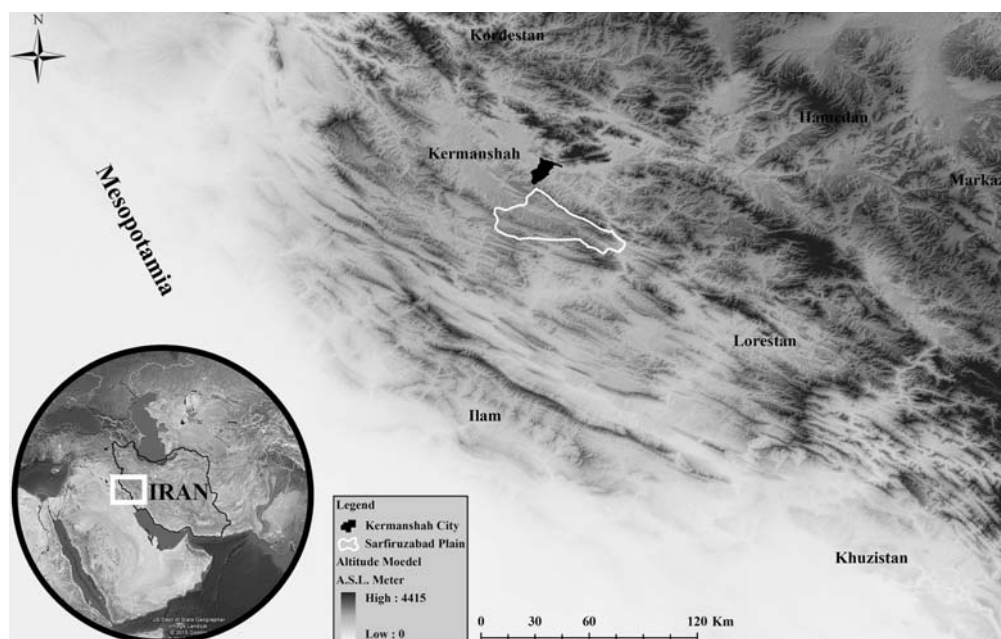


Fig. 1. Map showing the survey area. Southern Mahidasht Plain

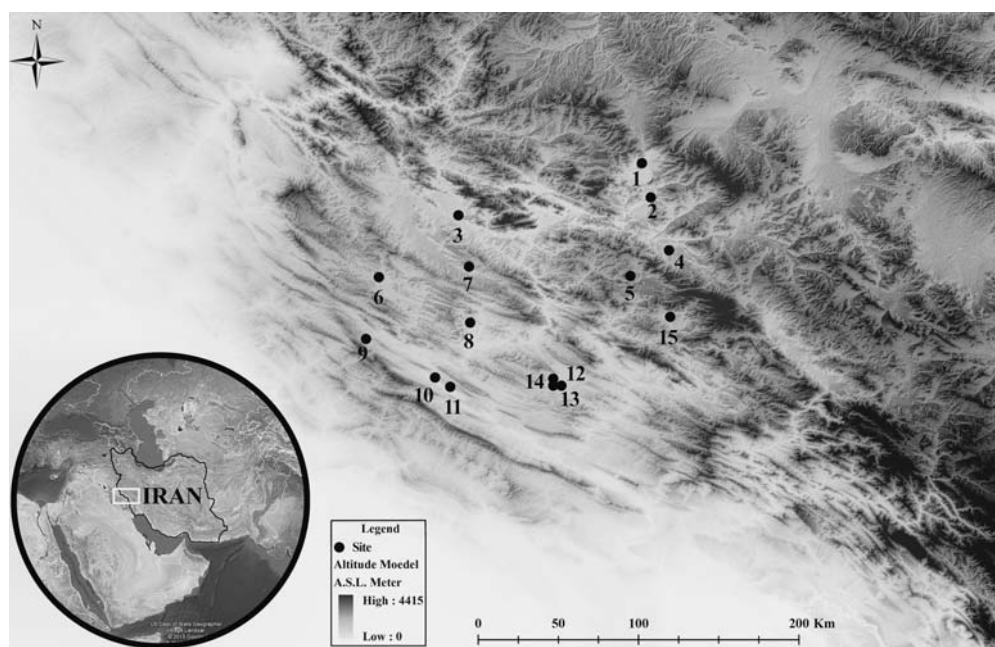


Fig. 2. Geographical location of some of the Middle and Late Bronze Age sites in Central Zagros: 1. Bad Khoreh, 2. Godin Tepe, 3. Chogha Maran, 4. Tepe Giyan, 5. Baba Jan, 6. Chogha Gavaneh, 7. Pa-chogha, 8. Tepe Guran, 9. Bani Surmah, 10. Dar Tanha, 11. Mir Khair, 12. Kamtarlan, 13. Mirvali, 14. Chigha Sabz, 15. Girairan, 16. Tawarsa



Survey work continued on several levels. Teams using vehicles finished transects not completed in 1975 and examined randomly chosen segments of different environmental zones in previously unsurveyed areas of the valley.<sup>16</sup> In addition, to investigate the completeness and possible biases of the 1975 survey coverage, randomly chosen transects were walked. Almost no mounds of any size had been missed and all of the 175 sites found in this check were surface scatters ranging in size from few sherds in small areas to one expanse kilometres long.<sup>17</sup> Relatively small but important additions have been made to our knowledge of Godin III from the work in the Mahidasht thus far. Seventy sites with Godin III material were found in 1975,<sup>18</sup> and a number more in 1978. The sounding at Chogha Maran (site no. Md 289) revealed an assemblage characterised by a limited number of simple vessel forms in red-slipped ware. This ware is dated to Early Dynastic II–III on the basis of associated seal impressions.<sup>19</sup> The Chalcolithic sites of Chogha Maran (Md 289) and Tepe Siahbid (Md 203), tested by the project, both yielded limited numbers of Godin III sherds. Many sites with Godin III occupations are substantial in terms of both extent and depth of deposit.<sup>20</sup> Crucial to analysis of the archaeological history and settlement patterns in the valley system are the results of the geomorphological work by Brookes.<sup>21</sup> In the Assadabad Valley, Hamadan Plain, Nehavand Valley, Malayer Plain, Burujird Valley and Sahneh Valley, Harsin, Delfan and Khawa, Alishtar Plain, Khorramabad Valley, Islamabad Plain, Hulailan Valley, Tarhan Valley, Kuh-i Dasht Valley, Rumishgan Valley, Saimarreh Valley and Pusht-i Kuh remains of Godin III have been found (Fig. 2).<sup>22</sup>

Between the years 1978 and 2007 remains of the Godin culture III were identified at a total of 104 sites. Of these sites, 92 per cent are located in the eastern regions of Garin Mountain and eastern and western Pish Kuh; the remaining sites are located in Posht Kuh and Khuzestan.<sup>23</sup>

#### GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Sarfirouzabad village, located in the southeastern part of Kermanshah Province (Fig. 3), is the largest district of this province and lies along the southeastern parts of the Mahidasht Plain. The district of Sarfirouzabad has three rural districts; namely, Sarfirouzabad, Jalalvand and Othmanvand.

The total area of Sarfirouzabad is 971 km<sup>2</sup> and it occupies one of the vast open plains of the country, with an elevation ranging from 1200 m to 1987 m above mean sea level. It takes the form

<sup>16</sup> Brookes *et al.* 1982, p. 297.

<sup>17</sup> Levine and McDonald 1977.

<sup>18</sup> Levine 1976b, p. 289.

<sup>19</sup> Henrickson 1984b.

<sup>20</sup> Levine 1976b, p. 290.

<sup>21</sup> Brookes 1989.

<sup>22</sup> Young 1966, Contenau and Ghirshman 1935 (Assadabad Valley); Young 1965 (Hamadan Plain); Herzfeld 1929, 1933, Goff 1966, 1971, 1980 (Nehavand Valley); Goff 1966, Howell 1979 (Malayer Plain); Young 1966 (Burujird and Sahneh Valleys); Stein 1940, Schmidt 1938, 1940, Goff 1976 (Harsin, Delfan and Khawa); Stein 1940, Goff 1966, 1971, 1980 (Alishtar Plain); Herzfeld 1929, Young 1966, Goff, 1966, 1971, 1980 (Khorramabad Valley); Schmidt 1940, Braidwood 1961, Goff 1966, Abdi 1999 (Islamabad Plain); Stein 1940, p. 245, Meldgard, Mortensen and Thrane 1963, Goff 1971, Mortensen 1974 (Hulailan Valley); Thrane 1964, Goff 1966, 1971, 1980 (Tarhan Valley); Stein 1940, p. 261, Goff 1966, 1971, Schmidt 1938 (Kuh-i Dasht Valley); Goff 1966, 1971, 1980 (Rumishgan Valley); Stein 1940, p. 195 (Saimarreh Valley); Vanden berghe 1969, 1970, Haerinck and Overlaet 2013, Haerinck 2011 (Pusht-i Kuh).

<sup>23</sup> Mazaheri 2013; Niknami and Saeedi 2006; Saeedi 2014.

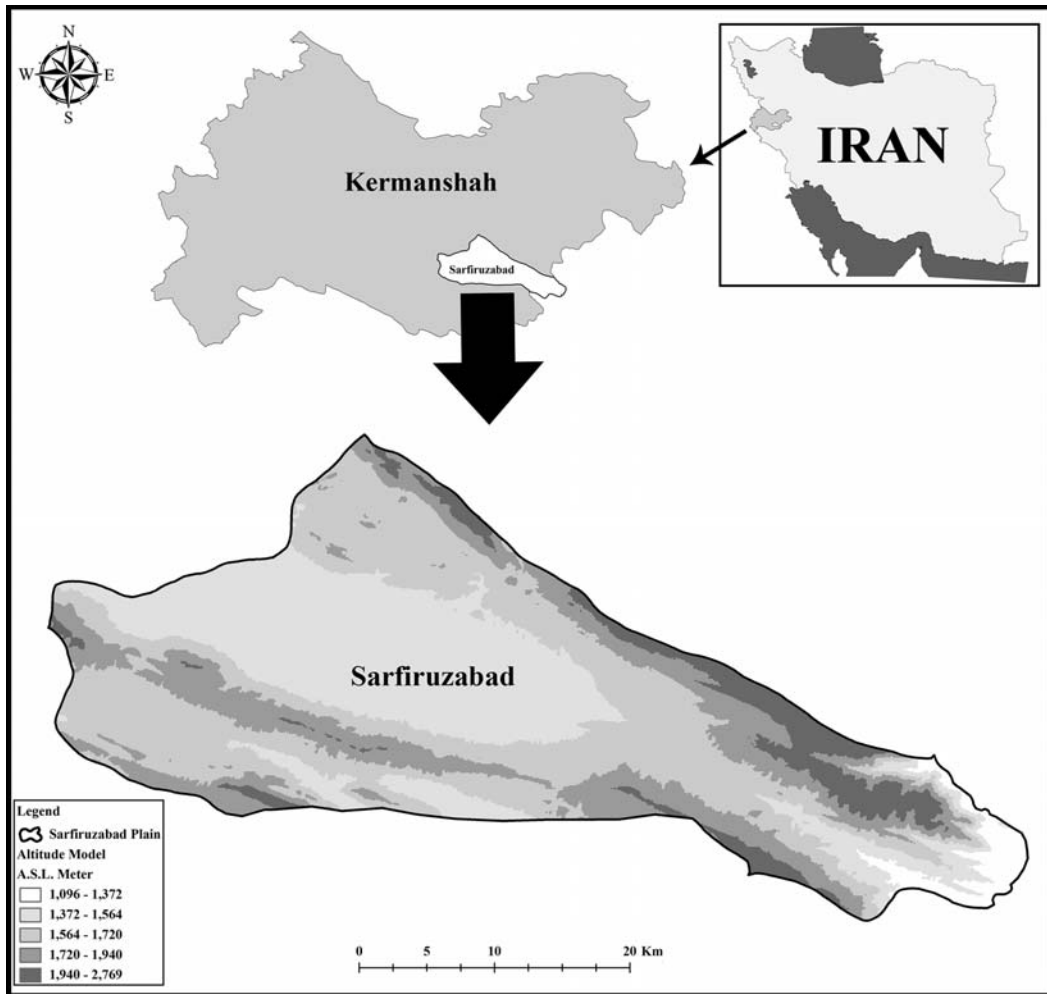


Fig. 3. Map showing geographical location of Sarfiruzabad in Iran

of a complex syncline, surrounded by mountains, and due to the adjacent organic activities it has been extended in the northwest to southeast direction over thousands of years. Northern mountain ranges of the area are Kamajar (Kamehjar), Zangaliyan, Khoarah Tav, and Kuh-e Sefid and the southwestern ranges, which have low elevations and are more conjunct, are Nesar, Kola Mal, La'al Abad (Laleh van), Sivelx, Shirnarmi, Barikeh, and Qaleh Qazi. The elevation of this plain is less than 1600 m and the lowest average annual precipitation is 423.6 mm.

The climate of Sarfiruzabad is affected by external factors such as subtropical high pressure, westerly winds, Mediterranean and Siberian high, polar air masses, marine, tropical, Siberian cold, and trends of Mediterranean wetlands as well as local factors, among them solar radiation, altitude, sun exposure duration, regional topography, elevation, surface roughness, steep slopes, vegetation, dryness and temperate climate.

Water resources and their accessibility have been the major factor in development of settlements from ancient periods up to the present. Sarfirouzabad, as a big complex syncline surrounded by anticlinal heights, directs precipitation toward the centre of the plain, which creates the plain's river network. Consequently, access to permanent water resources as a vital element has had great importance for farmers. The amount of rainfall in the plain is low and the rivers play a major role in the formation of the sites. Nowadays the number of pastoral properties is less than in the past, although access to pasturelands in the Nesar and Sefid Mountains provides suitable conditions for nomadic communities.

The Mereg River, the main water supply of the Sarfirouzabad Plain, originates in Sarab-e Sarfirouzabad, a village southwest of Mahidasht. It and the Gashan River, originating in the north of Kermanshah, are the main water supplies of Sarfirouzabad. These water sources, along with the fertile agricultural lands, have resulted in thriving agriculture in south of Kermanshah. Although the plain seems to have been isolated by the surrounding mountain ranges, its proximity to the Khorasan road has brought progress and prosperity to this region during different periods from the fourth millennium BC onwards.

#### THE SARFIROUZABAD PLAIN PROJECT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND ITS METHODOLOGY

Several archaeologists, including Braidwood (between 1959 and 1960),<sup>24</sup> Goff (in 1971),<sup>25</sup> and Levin and MacDonald (in 1974),<sup>26</sup> have visited the plain. Ali Akbar Sarfaraz, who named the site "Tepe Pa-Chaga" or "Firuzabad" mound, also visited the area.<sup>27</sup> However, the plain was systematically surveyed in 2009 because of its specific position in the region. Twenty-four Godin III sites were identified (Table 1).<sup>28</sup>

Because the wider area falls under different political administrations, the scope of the 2009 survey was not extended, but it revealed very significant information about the evolution of human history in this region. Sarfirouzabad district is a marginal region to the south of the Great Khorasan road with great potential for archaeological studies. Sarfirouzabad is a flat central plain between two mountainous regions in the north and south—the Sefid and Nesar mountain ranges respectively, and lying to the east of the Mahidasht Plain. There is an extended fertile valley plain in the north of this area through which the Mereg River passes. This region is completely separated from Kermanshah by Sefid Mountain Ranges and its southern borders are extended until the southern mountain ranges known as Nesar. The Sarfirouzabad Plain, the valley of the Gashan River, the northern slopes of the Nesar mountains and the southern slopes of the Sefid mountains, and the eastern parts of Mahidasht, known as Sarfirouzabad, are the scope of the 2009 survey season. This region is bounded by Sefid Mountain in the north, the Seymareh river in the east, the Mahidasht plain (Mahidasht

<sup>24</sup> Braidwood 1961.

<sup>25</sup> Goff 1971.

<sup>26</sup> Levine and McDonald 1977; McDonald 1979.

<sup>27</sup> Sarfraz *et al.* 1968.

<sup>28</sup> Mirghaderi 2013, p. 43.

district) in the west and the Othamanvand rural district in the south, and has a total area of 1000 km<sup>2</sup>, incorporating mountains, forest and plain.

Sixty days of fieldwork were undertaken during the summer of 2009 and resulted in the identification of numerous archaeological and historical sites. Utilisation of satellite images, geological maps and a combination of the two made it possible to survey and evaluate the entire region systematically, recording its natural and ecological features. Finally it was possible to present a perspective on the cultural and historical background of the region.<sup>29</sup>

The survey of the 1000 km<sup>2</sup> area was conducted by a group of 20 members walking 10 hours per day. Team members stood in a row 20 m distant from each other, recording all the visible archaeological evidence by entering the information into a pre-designed form. Thus, the entire area—including flatlands and plains, farmlands, valleys, slopes, caves and rock shelters, and especially river banks, streams and springs—was investigated step by step and precisely surveyed.

In addition, local residents assisted by providing information about archaeological sites. All locations where the villagers mentioned the presence of ceramic sherds were seen and surveyed, so there are no doubts about missing any evidence. The method for collecting cultural material such as ceramics, stone artefacts, etc., was random sampling, giving priority to diagnostics; for example, in collecting ceramic sherds, the priority was rims, handles, coloured or painted body sherds, and bases. The distribution of the surface findings in each area was separately recorded and the extent of each site in different periods was recorded based on the scatter of each period's surface objects. A form was prepared for recording and explaining basic information such as geographic position (latitude, longitude and altitude), dimensions, location (the surrounding natural landscape, human manipulation, etc.), the amount and distribution of cultural material and surface findings. Finally, a sketch of the location was drawn and attached to the rest of the archaeological information.

The 1:2500 topographic maps were used in order to increase the view. The area was divided into 1 × 1 km squares, and each square was precisely studied. The entire area was measured and studied regarding land use, latitude and longitude and altitude in order to trace evolution and changes in the area based on the current surface and landscape. Three hundred and thirty-four archaeological, cultural and historical sites, dating from the Palaeolithic to the contemporary period, were identified.<sup>30</sup> The remains discovered include caves, settlements, tepe, shrines and castles, but no remains of ancient cities, bridges, roads, dams or dikes were identified. Unfortunately, due to the lack of stratigraphy studies in the area, our knowledge about the history of the region's cultures and traditions is incomplete. Until the stratigraphy is determined at sites such as Pacheqa, Poshteh Rizeh Olya and Tepe Sarab Sarfirouzabad, the results of the present study are temporary and based on comparison with other areas. This situation has led to incomplete insight about the evolution of the cultures and to many ambiguities about certain periods which have been made more severe by previous researchers' negligence, especially concerning the periods after the Chalcolithic.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Niknami 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Mirghaderi 2013.

<sup>31</sup> Potts 2013, p. 207.

## CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of Godin III at Godin Tepe was established based on Mesopotamian historical texts and the cultural sequence of the Khuzestan plain. Moreover, the potteries of this period indicate cultural communications among the Central Zagros, Khuzestan and Mesopotamian Plains.<sup>32</sup> Excavations of the remains of Period III in Godin Tepe were concentrated on the deep sounding excavated in an area of over 500–700 m<sup>2</sup>.

The principal stratigraphic phases within Godin III, referred to as “levels”, have been defined by reference to the architectural remains in the deep sounding. A “level” is a coherent occupational episode whose beginning and end are defined by discontinuities across the entire area of excavation. Within a level there must be at least a thread of stratigraphic and occupational continuity, although there may be any number of localised interruptions. Considerable architectural development and change may occur. The levels provide a convenient series of stratigraphic subdivisions of for the Godin III sequence, each of which is culturally—that is, in its ceramic remains—distinctive. The levels are numbered 1–6, from top to bottom. The phases of Godin III are thus numbered III: 6 to III: 1, from earliest to latest. An additional phase, consisting of graves stratified between Levels III: 2 and III: 1, is designated Post-III: 2. “Level III: n” is used to refer to material at Godin Tepe itself; “Godin III: n” will denote regional phases of the culture contemporary with individual levels at Godin Tepe.<sup>33</sup>

Six major phases of the Period III occupation, designated from the earliest to the latest, have been distinguished at depths of 7–9 m in the deposit: phase III: 6 (2600–2400 BC), III: 5 (2400–2200 BC), III: 4 (2100–1900 BC), III: 3 (1900 BC), III: 2 (1900–1600 BC), post-III: 2 (1600–1400 BC) and phase III: 1 (post-1400 BC) which. Each phase has a distinctive character, but a tendency toward denser occupation is evident in the earlier phases.<sup>34</sup> Godin III continued over 1200 years in the Central Zagros.

The earliest Godin III occupation at Godin Tepe probably lay on the perimeter or lower slopes of the abandoned Period IV mound. In early level III: 6 the settlement seems to have expanded up the slope, ultimately entering the area of the deep sounding from the southeast. In time, an important part of the settlement was in this area, but later it was abandoned. In Level III: 5, the settlement seems to have lain on the north slope of the mound so that only part of the deep sounding, the very summit, was occupied. Later, in Level III: 4, the area was a prosperous neighbourhood within the settlement. The following Level III: 3 village seems to have been on the southern slope of the mound, outside the area of the deep sounding. In Level III: 2 the area was again part of a wealthy neighbourhood. After its abandonment, Post-III: 2 graves were dug into the summit of the mound. The remains of Level III: 1 seal the Post-III: 2 graves but are badly disturbed by weathering due to prolonged abandonment, then construction activity related to the Period II occupation. The deep sounding thus yields data on several discrete phases within the Godin III occupation(s) at Godin Tepe.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Henrickson 1985, p. 570.

<sup>33</sup> Henrickson 1987, p. 205.

<sup>34</sup> Henrickson 2011, p. 210.

<sup>35</sup> Henrickson 1984b.

In the Sarfirouzabad Plain, based on the typologies of pottery, some sites such as Pa-Chogha, Nesar I, Nesar 2, Nesar 22, Daraeil 1, Var-Kou 2, Do Borjy 1, Chero Rish 2, Chero Rish 3 and Do Borjy 1 represent different phases of Godin III (Figs 4, 5, 6; Table 2). Here, compared with the Godin III<sub>2</sub> phase, the remnants of which are spread across the surface of the Central Zagros region, the remains of Godin III<sub>1</sub> and Godin III<sub>3</sub> seem to be more limited; the fact that a larger volume of the pottery of Godin III<sub>1</sub> has been observed in Sarfirouzabad might imply a growth in the number of settlements in the area during the first half of the second millennium BC, but for the Godin III<sub>3</sub> phase, the limited number of surface findings makes understanding its real geographical distribution impossible. One explanation for the paucity of Godin III<sub>3</sub> remains could be the short period of occupation of Godin III<sub>3</sub> settlements.<sup>36</sup> It is worth mentioning that in the chronological structure of Tepe Godin, only the Godin III<sub>2</sub> sequence was identified from the pottery typology, while other phases, such as Godin III<sub>3-4</sub> and Godin III<sub>4-5</sub> were established according to their architectural materials. Since these materials are not accessible in the surface study area, we are not able to recognise the different sequences of Godin III for the Sarfirouzabad chronology as it was done for Godin III<sub>3-6</sub>.

#### MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGE SITES

Among the 332 identified sites in Sarfirouzabad plain, 24 are Middle and Late Bronze Age sites, of which some are single period and others were occupied across different periods. The sites are located on the edge of the desert, on the slopes of the Sefid or Nesar Mountains, in the middle of the plain or in farmlands. Their extent varies from a few hundred metres to a few acres; some are very far from the current locations of villages and some are quite nearby to them. Since presenting an exact chronological sequence of each site and the plain is not possible based on an archaeological survey alone,<sup>37</sup> we recorded the chronology of all of the sites as between 2600 and 1400 BC (Fig. 7).

#### Sar Ghanat, (Soo4)

This site is located on the northern heights of the Sarfirouzabad plain and the southern slopes of Sefid Mountain, in the northern basin of the Mereh River. The site is surrounded by natural pastures and rugged terrain; its length is 85 m, its width 73 m, and it occupies a position 3 m higher than the surrounding area. The site is on the heights of the mountains' foothills and a gentle slope leads down to its surrounds. The entire site has been ploughed and is being exploited as farmlands, but fortunately it has remained safe from unauthorised excavators.

#### Surface findings:

Twelve ceramic sherds—three rim sherds and nine body sherds—and a piece of a stone tool were collected during this survey. Only one potsherd is painted. This sherd is part of a vessel with

<sup>36</sup> Henrickson 2011, p. 259.

<sup>37</sup> Evans and Gould 1982.

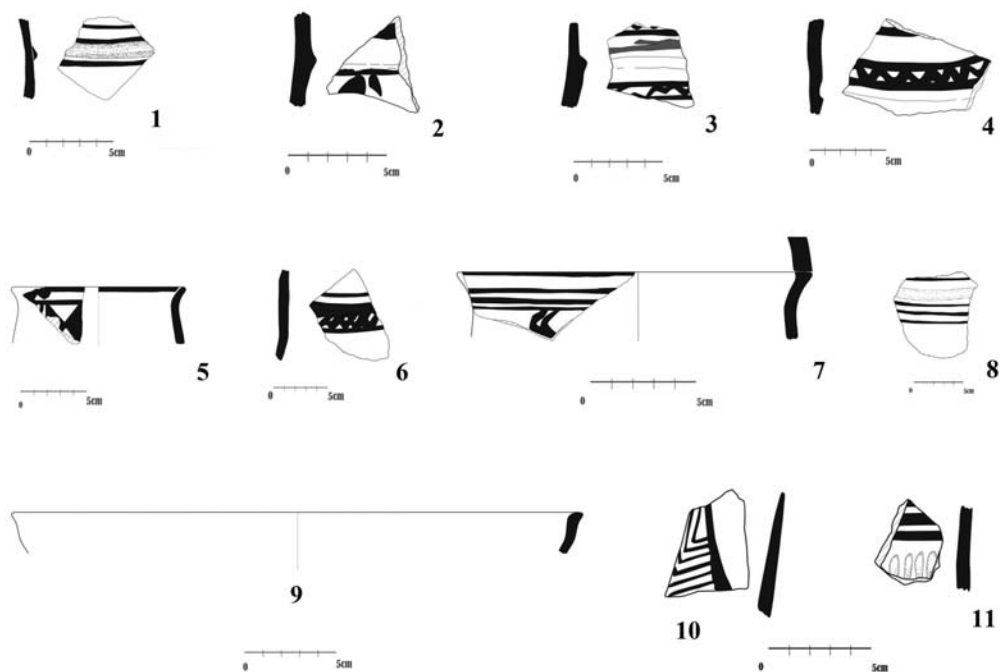


Fig. 4. Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery sherds from Sarfirouzabad Plain

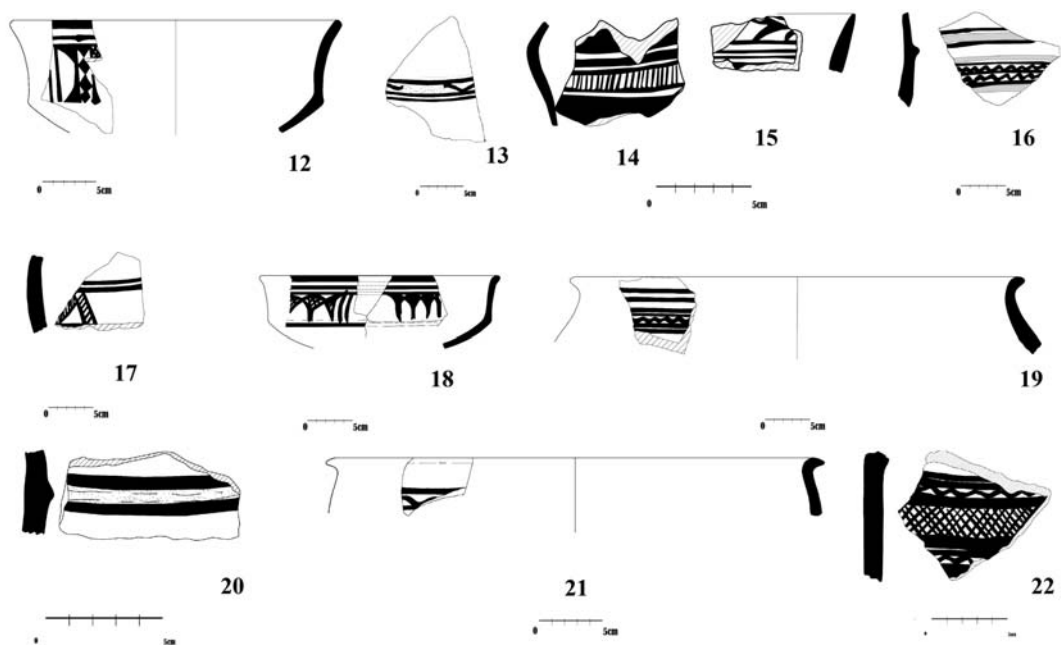


Fig. 5. Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery sherds from Sarfirouzabad Plain



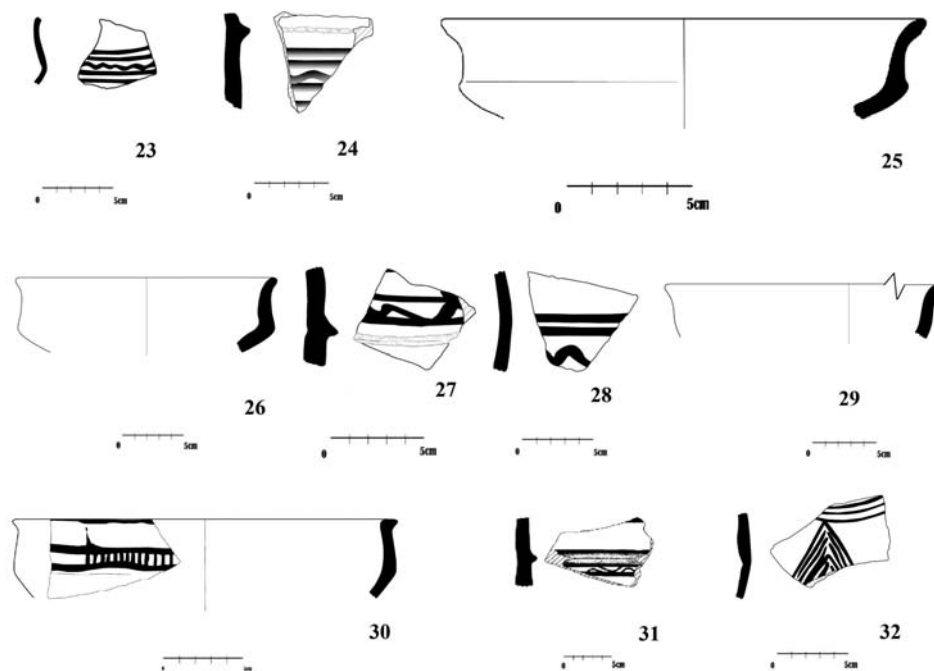


Fig. 6. Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery sherds from Sarfirouzabad Plain

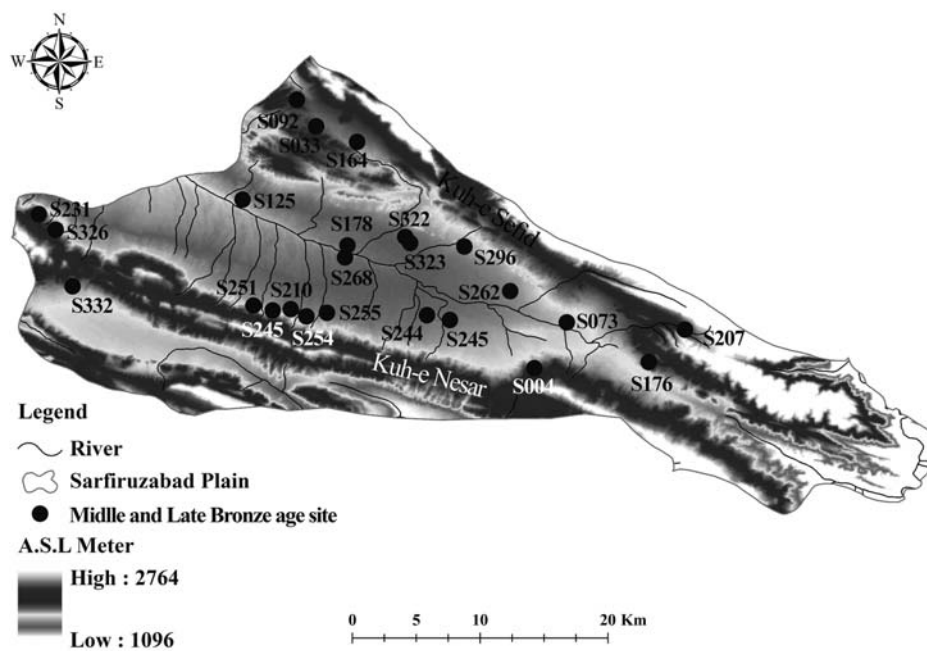


Fig. 7. Distribution map of settlements in Sarfirouzabad plain

orange, buff-ware paste, a mixture of sand temper, and a thin coating of buff on buff slip. The quality of the construction of this ceramic is fairly high and white particles can be seen on its surface. There is a simple, fine embossed strip on its body with brown lines above and below it. As the sherd is a piece of the body, the form is not recognisable. These ceramics are probably from the Middle and Late Bronze Age and Godin Culture III.

### **Khol Koleh Cemetery (So33)**

The Khol Koleh cemetery is located on the western heights of the Seyed Shekar village, on the northern edge of Sarfirozabad Plain and south of Sefid Mountain. The cemetery is named after the nearby spring known as Khol Koleh and extends from east to west, with dimensions of 90 m long × 38 m wide. Its highest point is in its centre.

#### **Surface findings:**

Six ceramic sherds—three rim sherds and three body sherds—were collected during the survey of the cemetery. All but one of the sherds have buff ware and light buff ware pastes with a buff ware slip. The insides of two of the sherds have a light red colour. All the sherds are adequately fired and wheel made. One sherd is made of grey paste and is coated with a slip of the same colour. With reference to their technical features and their pattern and form, these sherds are related to Middle and Late Bronze Age and Godin III culture.

### **Pa-Chogha (So73) (Figs 8 and 9)**

The Pa-Chogha tepe is located on the Sarfirozabad Plain, on the northern edge of the Mereg River, between Sefid Mountain in the north and Nesar Mountain in the south. The site is named after the Pa-Chogha village and is the largest and most well known archaeological site in the region.<sup>38</sup> The tepe extends from east to west and is 3.8 ha in extent (215 m long and 180 m wide) and 21 m high. The highest part of the tepe is its centre, which is 21 m above its surrounding area.

#### **Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics found at this site consist of 11 sherds, of which 10 are painted and one has additional decoration. They are buff, or have a red-like colour (only one sample), and are covered with a thin slip of the same colour as the paste.

### **Chalaw Ghezan-Gel (So92)**

The site known as Chalaw Ghezan-Gel is located on one of the northern hills of the Sarfirozabad Plain and in the southern foothills of Sefid Mountain. The site is surrounded by mountains and is 5 km distant from the Mereg River. The tepe has dimensions of 117 m long × 74 m wide,

<sup>38</sup> Sarfaraz *et al.* 1968.



Fig. 8. Pa-Chogha mound, eastern view



Fig. 9. Pa-Chogha mound, Aerial view (taken in 1964)

and is thus relatively small. Its tip is 5.5 to 6 m above the surrounding lands. There are several  $1 \times 1.5$  m holes with depths of 0.5 to 1 m at the centre of the hill and on its southern slope which are evidence of unauthorised excavations.

#### **Surface findings:**

Middle and Late Bronze Age (Gudin III): the 10 ceramic sherds discovered include three rim sherds, four parts of bases and three body sherds. All are buff wares, wheel made and adequately fired. Their quality puts them into the category of delicate and medium ceramics. One of the sherds is painted and another two have additional decoration. The paintings on the ceramics are geometric decorations such as parallel lines with two rows of wavy lines between them; the additional decoration on some ceramics is a fine line on their surface.

#### **Asadabad (S125)**

The Asadabad ancient hill is located on the northern slope of Nesar Mountain and the southern edge of the Sarfirozabad Plain, on the southern bank of the Mereg River. The hill is 2 km east of Asadabad village in the middle of farmland. It is 103 m long and 75 m wide. The height of the hill above the surrounding lands and the river varies from 2.5 to 3 m.

#### **Surface findings:**

The colour of the Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics found at this site is buff with red and buff slip. All are wheel made and adequately fired. They have sand temper and can be categorised as medium and rugged ceramics. Their form is like a crock with the overhanging edges of large pithoi and some angles on their bodies. Some have extra decoration with painting.

#### **Seyed Shokr 2 (S164)**

The Seyed Shokr 2 site lies atop a relatively high natural ridge on the northern edge of the Sarfirozabad Plain and the southern slopes of Sefid Mountain. It is located north of the Seyed Shokr village, at a height of 30–35 m. The Seyed Shokr 2 site itself is small, 45 m in length and 32 m wide, and only slightly higher than the surrounding area. The site has holes resulting from unauthorised excavations.

#### **Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site are painted with embossed motifs and additional decorations. All are wheel made and adequately fired. They all have sand temper and are coated in a slip which is the same colour as the paste.

#### **Korah Joub 3 (S176)**

The Korah Joub 3 site is located on the Sarfirozabad Plain, between the Sefid and Nesar Mountains and 700 m southeast of the Mereg River's source. The southern, western and eastern

parts of the site are farmlands and the southern part is the most intact. Due to the current state of the site, determining its dimensions is difficult, but regarding the ceramic distribution, it is *c.* 30 × 30 m.

#### **Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site are tempered with sand and are wheel made. They are buff ware and on one sherd there are parallel embossed motifs with some dark brown strips in between them.

#### **Howrav 1 (S 178)**

This site is located near the foothills on the northern edges of Nesar Mountain and Sarfirou-zabad Plain and to the south of Sefid Mountain. It is 65 m long and 39 m wide. The distribution of sherds varies from five pieces to one piece per square metre. Some parts of the southern side of the hill are washed by the Mereg River streams and shaped like a horseshoe.

#### **Surface Findings:**

There is only one painted ceramic in this site's collection. It has a buff ware paste and a thin slip layer of the same colour; it is hand made using temper, adequately fired and medium quality. There is a simple, embossed strip on the ceramic's body with brown and light brownish red parallel, horizontal lines. This ceramic belongs to the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

#### **Daraeil 1 (S 207) (Fig. 10)**

The Daraeil 1 site is located in a long narrow valley, parallel to the southern side of Sefid Mountain and on the northeastern side of the Mereg River's source. The dimensions of the site are 73 m long × 54 m wide. It extends from west to east on the eastern side of the Sarab-e Sarfirouzabad village. It is located on a natural ridge, 20 m high and surrounded by steep cliffs, with the site on its south. The surface and the archaeological layers of the site are badly damaged because of unauthorised excavations.

#### **Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age sherds of Daraeil 1 are quite significant. There are buff wares with glazed buff slip. They are painted, adequately fired and wheel made.

#### **Khaleilan 2 (S 210)**

The Khaleilan 2 hillside site is located north of Nesar Mountain and on the southern edge of Sarfirouzabad Plain, on the south side of the Mereg River in farmlands. The dimensions of the site are 80 m long × 45 m wide. The site is in the rugged area on the northern slopes of Nesar Mountain. The northern and eastern slopes lead to a mountain pass which provides access to the farms.





Fig. 10. Daraeil 1 mound, eastern view



Fig. 11. Nesar 2 mound, southern view; most of the mound was levelled for agricultural works



**Surface findings:**

The nine Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics that were discovered consist of four rim sherds and five body sherds. All the sherds are buff ware and coated with a thin slip of the same colour; however, the paste of two of them is burned. Five sherds are handmade and the other four are wheel made. They can be categorised as medium and delicate. All of them are plain except for one which is painted. This latter piece is part of the body of the vessel and has an embossed strip with two black lines on each side.

**Nesar 1 (S 224)**

Nesar site 1 is located north of Nesar Mountain on the southern edge of the Sarfirouzabad Plain, in the rugged foothills of Nesar Mountain. The size of Nesar tepe 1 is *c.* 48 m long and 32 m wide, extending from north to south. It is now located in the middle of farmlands. The tepe slopes west to east in a rugged area elevated above the lands to its north by *c.* 4.65 m.

**Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site are divided into two groups:

1. Two buff ware sherds tempered with fine sand and mixed temper, so that the particles of straw are obviously visible on the ceramic surface. They are coated with a thin slip and light and dark brown geometric patterns appear on the neck and shoulder of the vessels.
2. Two sherds that are part of the body of a vessel; their decorations distinguish them from the other group. The two-coloured geometric patterns, usually in black and red, are parallel, horizontal lines, alternating black and red, and the geometric patterns are enclosed in a horizontal frame.

**Nesar 2 (S 225) (Fig. 11)**

Nesar 2 is south of Sefid Mountain and north of Nesar Mountain, on the southern edge of the Sarfirouzabad Plain in the rugged area of the Nesar foothills. The site is 150 m long and 71 m wide and extends from north to south.

**Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site consist of painted sherds and sherds with geometric decorations such as horizontal strips, sometimes with two embossed strips above and below. The patterns are in black. As all the sherds come from parts of the bodies of the ceramics, the form is not recognisable.

**Nesar 8 (S 231)**

The Nesar 8 site is north of Nesar Mountain and on the southern edge of the Sarfirouzabad Plain, in the rugged area of the Nesar foothills and the southern basin of the Mereg River and in

the middle of Nesar Mountain's forests. This site takes the form of a small oval dome-shaped area with the dimensions of 40 m long × 32 m wide. Its height above the farmlands to its east is 0.5 m. The site's surface is rough, which is mostly due to unauthorised excavations.

#### **Surface findings:**

Middle and Late Bronze Age buff ware sherds with the same colour slip have been found at this site. They are wheel made, have sand temper and are adequately fired. One of the sherds has an embossed strip with two black thin strips on its sides.

#### **Nesar 22 (S 245)**

Nesar 22 is located north of Nesar Mountain and on the southern edge of Sarfirouzabad Plain, in the rugged area of the Nesar foothills and the southern basin of the Mereg River. The site has dimensions of 57 m long × 40 m wide and extends from north to south. Its surface has been ploughed and the distribution of sherds is of medium density at almost one ceramic sherd per square metre.

#### **Surface findings:**

Four ceramic sherds of the Middle and Late Bronze Age have been collected from the surface of this site. They are categorised into two groups: plain and painted. The painted ceramics are buff ware with a thin slip of the same colour and handmade with straw and fine sand temper. Their quality is fairly high. They have geometric patterns such as wide lattice and wavy strips with horizontal strips and dark brown geometric patterns in between. Since all the samples are parts of the bodies of the ceramics, the form is not recognisable.

#### **Garmiyanak 6 (S 251)**

Garmiyanak 6 is located north of Nesar Mountain and on the southern edge of Sarfirouzabad Plain, in the rugged area of the Nesar foothills and the southern basin of the Mereg River. The site's dimensions are 35 m long × 32 m wide. The southern part of the hill, with a slope of about 10 degrees, leads to a mountain pass, but because of agricultural activities, the northern and western parts are flatlands. The ceramic distribution is relatively low at this site.

#### **Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics are in buff ware colour with thin light and dark buff slip and sand temper. They are wheel made and their surfaces are polished. These sherds can be categorised as delicate and medium ceramics. Their decoration is black geometric patterns on a buff background.

**Chero Rish 2 (S254)**

The Chero Rish 2 site is located atop the hills of the Sarfirouzabad Plain, south of Sefid Mountain and the Mereg River. The dimensions of Chero Rish 2 are 55 m long × 50 m wide, and it has an oval shape. The surface of this site has been ploughed for agriculture and farming and most of the potsherds have been smashed. The site leads to the Mereg River down a steep slope from the north; the ground of the other sides is flat.

**Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site are buff or light brownish and reddish buff and brownish red with mineral temper. The ceramics are hand made and coated with the same colour slip. In terms of quality, they are categorised as medium to rough. They have been adequately fired with some impurities appearing in some samples. There are dark brown geometric patterns, such as horizontal strips above and below, on one rim sherd.

**Chero Rish 3 (S 255)**

The Chero Rish 3 site is located in the middle of the Sarfirouzabad Plain, south of Sefid Mountain and the northern basin of the Mereg River. The site leads to the river via a steep slope from the north and to a residential area from the south. The site's dimensions are 64 m long × 43 m wide, extending from east to west. The site is 12 m above the Mereg River to the north but to the west it is almost at the same height as the surrounding lands.

**Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site are buff ware including two rims and six body sherds. The paste of most of the sherds is buff, but in one case it is red. All the sherds are wheel made and coated with a thin slip in the same colour as the paste. The patterns are in black, red and brown and include two thin strips with a wavy line between them, some wide, carved horizontal patterns with black strips inside them, and a combination of square and strip pattern. There are also red and brown strips decorating the outer surface of ceramics. An embossed strip between two lines appears on two sherds from the collection.

**Cheshmeh Yaghob 1 (S 262)**

The Cheshmeh Yaghob 1 site is located on the southern hillsides of Nesar Mountain and in the lower part of the Khor-Khor gorge. It is a small area located in a mountainous region on the southern edge of Sarfirouzabad Plain and the southern basin of the Mereg River. It is located on a natural substrate (virgin soil) of low, small hills and has dimensions of 50 m long by 45 m wide.

**Surface findings:**

Patterns such as parallel strips in two rows with a single strip between them can be seen on the surface of the Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site.

**Do Borjy 1 (S 268) (Fig. 12)**

The Do Borjy 1 tepe is located in the northern basin of Nesar Mountain, on the edge of the valley of Sarfirouzabad Plain and the southern basin of the Mereg River. The Do Borjy village is on the site, which is located on a natural ridge, extending from north to south. The site has dimensions of 150 m long × 60 m wide and it is 12 m higher than the surrounding area. Agricultural activities have caused destruction of the higher layers and scattered the cultural materials.



Fig. 12. Do- Borjy 1 mound, western view

**Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site are buff coloured with a thin slip of the same colour. All are wheel made and have sand temper. There is a ladder-shaped pattern in dark red on the shoulder of one of the red ceramics.

**Bakh-e Godar Pire Olya (S 296)**

This site is located south of Sefid Mountain on the edge of a long and narrow valley in the middle of a mountainous and impassable area. The site has dimensions of 55 m long × 40 m wide and is located in the middle of the rugged lands east of Godar Pire Olya on a natural hill. A mountain road starts from Godar Pire Olya, passes 50 m away from the site and continues toward Godar Pire Sofla.

**Surface findings:**

The Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics of this site are dark buff coloured and coated with a thin slip of dark and light buff colour paste and sand binder material. All are wheel made and well fired. The sherds are all completely plain, except in two cases which have a few rows of embossed ropy strips. There is also an angle on one of the sherds.

**Chia Reza (S 322)**

The site known as Chia Reza is located north of Nesar Mountain and on the southern edge of the Sarfirouzabad plain. Chia Reza is an oval-shaped tepe at the end of the mountain ridges leading to the plain. The tepe extends from northeast to southwest and is 49 m long × 36 m wide. The highest part of the tepe is at its centre where it is 7.5 m higher than the surrounding lands. The tepe has a natural substrate on the foothills at the edge of the plain.

**Surface Findings:**

Fifteen ceramic sherds, including eight rim sherds, six body sherds and one handle have been collected from this site. The paste of three sherds is buff colour with a thin slip of the same colour. It has sand temper. The ceramics are hand made and their quality is fairly high, there is an simple embossed strip on them. It seems they were not fired at the proper heat and some are burned. These ceramics are probably from the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

**Var-Kou 2 (S 323) (Fig. 13)**

The Var-Kou 2 site is located north of Nesar Mountain in the foothills at the southern edge of Sarfirouzabad Plain, in the southern part of Mahdiabad Olya village. This site has dimensions of 100 m long × 60 m wide and is on the slopes of the hills. The top of this natural hill is 100 m higher than the surrounding farmlands.



Fig. 13. Var-Kou mound, western view

#### Surface findings:

Two buff-coloured painted ceramic sherds with embossed decorations have been found at this site and are probably from the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

#### Cheshmeh Kaboud 1 (S326)

This site is on the northern part of Nesar Mountain in a rugged area and on a hill. It has dimensions of 86 m long  $\times$  45 m wide and extends from north to south. The surface of the site is rugged. There is a 1.20  $\times$  5.10 m pit caused by unauthorised excavations.

#### Ceramic findings

Two painted ceramic sherds with buff ware paste, coated with slip of the same colour, have been found at this site. The ceramics are wheel made and adequately fired and include sand temper. Both are decorated with a thin line and one has two thin black strips on both sides. These ceramics are from the Middle and Late Bronze Age.



### Do Chia 2 (S 332)

This tepe is south of Sefid Mountain and the Mereg River, and north of Nesar Mountain, in the middle of farmlands. The site's area is *c.* 78 m long × 45 m wide, extending from east to west, 3.258 m above than the lands to the west. Its surface has been ploughed by farmers.

### The surface findings

Only one painted ceramic sherd has been found, with buff paste and thin coating slip in the same colour. It has sand temper. The paintings are dark brown. This very small sherd is part of the body of a vessel, the form of which is unrecognisable. It is very likely that this sherd belongs to the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The changing distribution of Godin III:6-2 pottery in central western Iran reflects a dynamic process of socio-political and economic integration of a mosaic of localised ethnic groups into loose confederation.<sup>39</sup> Long-distance trade and political and economic pressure from the Mesopotamian lowlands, combined with factors of local economy and geography, contributed to this development. Even when the integration reached its greatest extent and the central western highlands exhibited considerable overall cultural homogeneity, regional differences are still found, probably marking various ethnic groups. After a period of strength and relative unity, the regional organisation disintegrated into a simpler and more localised economy, in which pastoralism was apparently dominant as the Godin III tradition came to an end. Historical perspective from Godin III:2-6 is very important for understanding those evolutions, because the emergence of Awan, *Šimaški* and *Sukkalmaḥ* powers, concurrent with the Godin III period, may have been responsible for cultural similarities and increasing numbers of settlements in the Central Zagros.<sup>40</sup> Although Godin III:6 is contemporary but not coterminous with Early Dynastic III, its role in the history of the times remains unclear. The region of the Godin III:6 pottery distribution, apparently concentrated east of the Kuh-e Sefid, does not figure identifiably in lowland historical sources, but the historical geography of the highlands and the nature of local polities are ill-defined.<sup>41</sup>

Godin III:5 is contemporary with the Proto-Imperial and Akkadian periods in Mesopotamia. Akkadian kings conquered and held the Susiana lowlands and repeatedly campaigned in the outer highland valleys, some of which they may have controlled.<sup>42</sup> Uncertain highland historical geography impedes detailed comparison of Akkadian activity with the archaeological evidence, but the Zagros highlands were clearly a royal concern. This may be reflected in the apparent dominance of Mesopotamian-related material in Pusht-i Kuh graves of this period and the virtual absence of Godin III:5 pottery there. The lowland political isolation from the highlands

<sup>39</sup> Henrickson 1984b, 1987, 1984a.

<sup>40</sup> Henrickson 1986, p. 21; 1984a; Potts 2004; Alizadeh 2008.

<sup>41</sup> Steinkeller 1982; Stolper 1984.

<sup>42</sup> Stolper 1984.

is mirrored in the ceramic assemblage from Susa. Although Gutium in the Akkadian period is often located in central western Iran, there is no archaeological evidence from Mesopotamia, such as Godin III: 5-4 pottery, to suggest any connection with central western Iran at this time. “Gutian” material culture remains to be identified. Contemporary sources indicate that Gutium in the Akkadian period is to be located on the mid-Euphrates; the trans-Tigridian Gutium begins with Old Babylonian traditions.<sup>43</sup> Thus the waves of Gutian barbarians descending from the Zagros lack historical or archaeological confirmation.

Godin III: 4 is contemporary with the Ur III and early Isin-Larsa periods. Susa and lowland Elam was a province of the Ur III state from the reign of Shulgi until that of Ib-bi-Sin.<sup>44</sup> Sustained military and diplomatic efforts were devoted to the consolidation of the Iranian highland frontier. The maintenance of a protective buffer of semi-independent vassal states in the outer highlands was a major aim.<sup>45</sup> Šimaški, a confederation of several highland polities, first rises to prominence within the Elamite state at this time. Judging from the historical data, Šimaški must lie in the highlands, somewhere north of Susiana and/or Fars;<sup>46</sup> Henrickson argued that it lay in Luristan.<sup>47</sup> Šimaški appears to be a “secondary state”, although “secondary confederation” might be more accurate. In response to the sustained Ur III (and earlier Akkadian) military and political pressures, autonomous highland polities gradually created a network of alliances, perhaps reinforced by intermarriages of leading families. The success of allied military action against Ur provided the opportunity for the emergence of an overall political leader and the creation of a dynastic line. Within such an inter-regional network, considerable local autonomy was possible such as during the following Suktalmah period (1900–1600 BC), when the Elamite state consisted of loosely linked regional components.<sup>48</sup>

Our information about Godin III: 1 is very limited but Godin III: 2 pottery is nearly ubiquitous throughout central western Iran. It is found in all major and most minor valleys, more frequently than pottery of any other phase. The apparent increase in the area of distribution and number of sites, however, may be somewhat misleading, due to a subsequent shift in settlement patterns; the number of Godin III: 2 settlements relative to earlier phases may be disproportionately large.<sup>49</sup> The overall stylistic homogeneity throughout the distribution is striking and suggests an unprecedented degree of cultural, economic, or political integration.<sup>50</sup> By 2000 BC the Šimaški dynasty controlled the Šimaški lands, Anshan (in Fars), the Su-lands (location unknown), and Khuzistan. The Šimaški dynasty was replaced by the dynasty of the Suktalmahs (c. 1900 BC), but the “sukkal of Elam and Šimaški” was second only to the “Suktalmah”, the chief ruler of the Elamite state in the Titulary.<sup>51</sup>

After Godin III: 2, our evidence from Godin Post III: 2 and Godin III: 1, offers little scope for discussion because it has been identified only at Godin Tepe itself. The disappearance of the

<sup>43</sup> Hallo 1971, p. 719.

<sup>44</sup> Stolper 1984; Michalowski 1978; Henrickson 2011.

<sup>45</sup> Michalowski 1976, pp. 77–94; 1978.

<sup>46</sup> Stolper 1982, p. 45.

<sup>47</sup> Henrickson 1984a.

<sup>48</sup> Stolper 1982, p. 53.

<sup>49</sup> Henrickson 1984b.

<sup>50</sup> Henrickson 2011, p. 310; 1986, p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> Stolper 1982, p. 49; 1984.

formerly widespread regional economic and/or political integration inferred from the uniformity of the painted wares suggests the breakdown of the regional economy into smaller local units, such as individual valleys or settlements.<sup>52</sup>

It seems that during the second phase of the Godin III period, the Sarfirouzabad Plain witnessed a maximum number of re-occupations and eventually population growth, which may have been due to the influence of cultural evolutions that occurred in the region from the first half of the third to the first half of the second millennium BC. Regarding the chronology of the surface findings at these sites during the 2009 survey, phases 5 and 6 of Godin III; 3 and 4 of Godin III and Godin 2 III have been identified. We cannot discuss Godin Post III;<sub>2</sub>, Godin III;<sub>1</sub> or Godin Post III;<sub>3</sub>.

As early Bronze Age (300–2600 BC) settlements have been identified in Sarfirouzabad and Mahidasht Plains, conducting excavation in this area now seems more necessary. The Pa-Chogha site can provide valuable information, as it is spread over quite a wide area and has a significant stratigraphical sequence which can bring us new perspective on the transition from late Chalcolithic to early Bronze Age and the nature of the early Bronze Age in Central Zagros. It also seems that the site has a regular sequence of Godin III- 6 and 2. Excavations at this site are high priority as, like eleven large Late and Middle Bronze Age sites identified in the Mahidasht Plain,<sup>53</sup> it can give us new perspectives on the Bronze Age in Central Zagros.

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<sup>52</sup> Henrickson 1986, p. 27; 1987, p. 213.

<sup>53</sup> Levin 1976 b.

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Site Code	Site	Village	N	E	ASL (m)	Date
4	Sar Ghanat	Najafabad	034°05'49"	047°13'51"	1665	Middle and Late Bronze Age and History period
33	Khol Koleh Cemetery	Seyed Shekar	034°07'59"	047°03'33"	1532	Middle and Late Bronze Age and Late Islamic Period
73	Pa-Chogha	Pa-Chogha	034°03'47"	047°14'18"	1603	Middle and Late Chalcolithic, Middle and Late Bronze Age and Islamic period
92	Chalaw Ghezan-Gel	Chalaw Ghezan-Gel	034°09'39"	046°58'51"	1436	Middle Chalcolithic and Middle and Late Bronze Age period
125	Asadabad	Asadabad	034°08'56"	047°03'26"	1455	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
164	Seyed Shokr 2	Seyed Sheokar	034°07'36"	047°08'35"	1601	Middle and Late Bronze Age and Parthian period?
176	Korah Joub 3	Korah Joub	034°02'48"	047°06'37"	1608	Middle Chalcolithic, Middle and Late Bronze Age and Late Islamic period
178	Howrav 1	Do Borjy	034°07'00"	047°05'06"	1483	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
207	Darail 1	Sarab-e Sarfiruzabad	034°03'24"	047°20'08"	1901	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
210	Khaleilan	Khaleilan-e Sofla	034°04'09"	047°03'03"	1585	Middle and Late Bronze Age and Parthian period
224	Nesar 1	Kozhak	034°02'43"	047°08'46"	1603	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
225	Nesar 2	Kozhak	034°02'41"	047°08'49"	1599	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
231	Nesar 8	Chero Rish	034°03'08"	047°07'34"	1585	Middle and Late Bronze Age and Parthian period
245	Nesar 22	Khaleilan-e Olya	034°10'51"	047°06'36"	1548	Middle and Late Bronze Age and Parthian period
251	Garmiyanak 6	Chero Rish	034°08'39"	046°54'32"	1488	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
254	Chero Rish 2	Chero Rish	034°05'16"	047°08'90"	1506	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
255	Chero Rish 3	Chero Rish	034°05'39"	047°08'10"	1502	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
262	Cheshmeh Yaghob 1	Chero Rish	034°07'23"	046°55'16"	1554	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
268	Do Borjy 1	Chero Rish	034°06'52"	047°04'55"	1480	Middle and Late Bronze Age and Late Sasanian- Early Islamic period
296	Bakh-e Godar Pire Olya	Godar Pire-e Olya	033°58'25"	047°28'20"	1289	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
322	Chia Reza	Khor Khor-e Sofla	034°07'59"	046°55'18"	1516	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
323	Var-Kou	Mehdiabad-e Olya	034°03'43"	047°12'13"	1581	Middle and Late Bronze Age and Parthian period?
326	Cheshmeh Kaboudi	Cheshmeh Kaboud	034°10'50"	047°04'22"	1655	Middle and Late Bronze Age period
332	Do Chia 2	Ghaymas	034°08'40"	046°56'58"	1460	Middle and Late Bronze Age period

Table 1. Middle and Late Bronze Age sites in the Sarfiruzabad Plain

No.	Site No.	Site Name (Local Name)	Description (Temper, colour, finish, manufacture, firing, decoration, paint colour)	Parallels
1	S004	Sar Ghanat	Common, red, smoothed, hand made, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1986, p. 45, fig. 28.7)
2	S033	Khol Koleh Cemetery	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1986, p. 38, fig. 14.7)
3	S073	Pa-Chogha	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, bichrome painted, red and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 137.16)
4	S073	Pa-Chogha	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, bichrome painted, red and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 137.15)
5	S073	Pa-Chogha	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 130.2)
6	S092	Chalaw Ghezan-Gel	Common, red, smoothed, hand made, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1986, figs 8.2-3; 9.2-4)
7	S125	Asadabad	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 147.7)
8	S164	Seyed Shokr 2	Common, buff, smoothed, hand made, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1986, fig. 16.16)
9	S176	Korah Joub 3	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired,	
10	S178	Howrav 1	Common, buff, smoothed, hand made, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 47.4)
11	S178	Howrav 1	Common, buff, smoothed, hand made, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1986, p. 45, fig. 28.7)
12	S207	Daraeil	Common, buff, smoothed, slow wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, black	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 164.7)
13	S207	Daraeil	Coarse, red-brown, smoothed, slow wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984; 1986)
14	S210	Khaleilan	Fine, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, black and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 49)
15	S210	Khaleilan	Fine, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, black and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 132)
16	S224	Nesar 1	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, bichrome painted, black and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 138.2)

No.	Site No.	Site Name (Local Name)	Description (Temper, colour, finish, manufacture, firing, decoration, paint colour)	Parallels
17	S224	Nesar 1	Coarse, buff, matte, hand made, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 145.23)
18	S224	Nesar 1	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 83.15)
19	S224	Nesar 1	Common, buff, smoothed, slow wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 87.2)
20	S225	Nesar 2	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, poorly fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1986, fig. 28.2)
21	S231	Nesar 8	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, bichrome painted, black and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 84.10)
22	S245	Nesar 22	Common, buff, rough, slow wheel, poorly fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1986, fig. 10.3)
23	S245	Nesar 22	Fine, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, black and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 113)
24	S251	Garmiyanak 6	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, red and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 136.12)
25	S254	Chero Rish 2	Common, buff, smoothed, slow wheel, well fired	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 79.17)
26	S255	Chero Rish 3	Common, buff, smoothed, slow wheel, well fired	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 80.7)
27	S255	Chero Rish 3	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, bichrome painted, red and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 138.3)
28	S262	Cheshmeh Yaghob 1	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, monochrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984)
29	S262	Cheshmeh Yaghob 1	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 79.17)
30	S268	Do Borjy 1	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, bichrome painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 81.2)
31	S323	Var-Kou	Common, buff, smoothed, fast wheel, well fired, bichrome painted, red and brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 137.18)
32	S332	Do Chia 2	Common, red-brown, matte, slow wheel, well fired, monochrome, dark brown painted, dark brown	(Henrickson 1984, fig. 47.4)

Table 2. Catalogue of Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery from Sarfrouzabad Plain

# The Seals of Bayazid Abad (Bayazi Awa) Tomb

Sheler AMELIRAD and Behroz KHANMOHAMADI

## Abstract

*Following its accidental discovery, the tomb of Bayazid Abad was excavated in 2010. Fifty-five Mitannian cylinder seals and 25 unengraved cylinders were among the huge quantity of materials found. All of the cylinder seals are of quartz-frit composite material, except one which is stone. They belong to the so-called Common Style of the Mitanni glyptic, according to Edith Porada's categories of Mitannian seals, featuring simple humans, animals, plants and geometric patterns. The seals show strong connections to the Syrian and Mesopotamian cultures of the Late Bronze Age, which are also visible in other finds.\**

Bayazid Abad (its Kurdish local name is Bayazi Awa) is situated in Northwestern Iran, 18 km west of Hasanlu and south of the archaeological site of Dinkha Tepe (Fig. 1).

The Bayazid Abad tomb was accidentally discovered in 2011 during the widening of the Naghada–Bayazi Awa road. Excavation was carried out over four days in 2011 by the West Azerbaijan Province's Department of Cultural Heritage, in order to safeguard the site. The archaeological remains were recorded and the artefacts collected and transferred to the local museum. A preliminary report was issued in the same year, introducing the site.<sup>1</sup> So far no other reports have been published.

The tomb chamber was a rectangular shape. Erected of crushed stones, it held the skeletons of 15 children and adult individuals, buried with their heads to the north. It also contained a rich collection of grave goods, consisting of some 500 vessels of various shapes, dated from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age; 2000 bronze and iron objects, including ornaments and weapons; many frit, faience, glass, bone, agate, Egyptian blue and gypsum beads; 55 Mitannian cylinder seals with flourishes, human and geometric patterns; and 25 unengraved cylinders (Fig. 2).

Based on the objects it contained, the 'Bayazid Abad' tomb seems to have been used from the Middle Bronze Age to the Iron Age II. The site is c. 18 km from Hasanlu and Dinkha Tepe and there are obvious strong ties between the sites, as evidenced by the material culture, which was basically the same in many cases and very close in others. In addition, there are objects of North Mesopotamian origin: a well-fired bottle with a slightly pointed nipple at its base and two symmetrical pouring holes on the shoulder; fine buff ware with painted rings which is also commonly

\* All drawings of seals are by Sheler Amelirad.

<sup>1</sup> Khanmohamadi 2010.

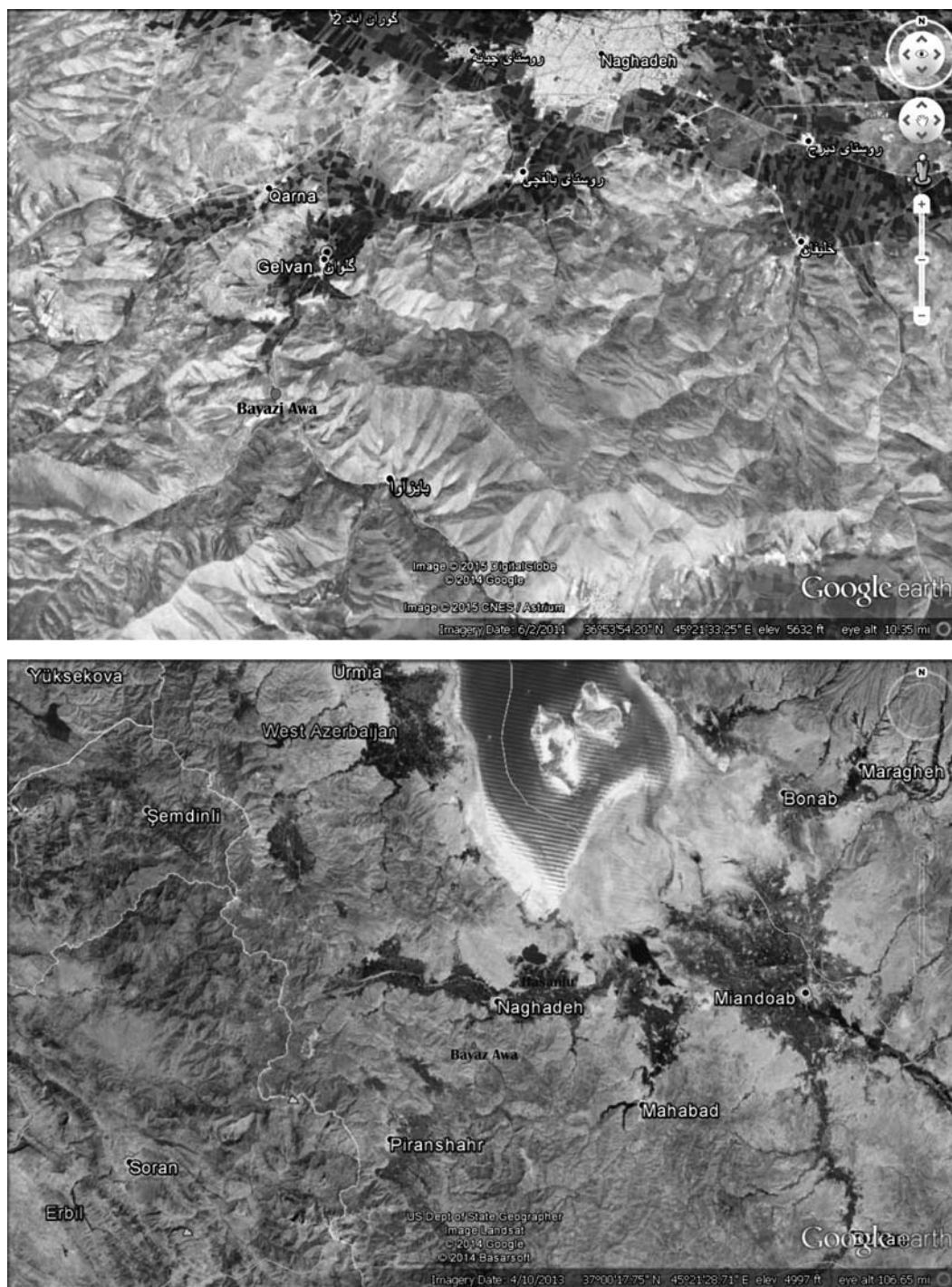


Fig. 1: Location of the Bayazid Abad tomb (Google Earth; photographs of 2014).





Fig. 2: View of the tomb.

called Khabur Ware; buff ware tumblers; button- or disc-based vases; and ivory, stone and composite material spindle whorls, with one or more lateral holes drilled on both sides of the with a thin pointed object or drill of varying size. Parallel forms are well documented in Northern Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Northern Syria from the second half of the second and first millennia BCE. These objects will be the subject of future publications.

Fifty-five Mitannian cylinder seals found in the Byazid Abad tomb are described in this article. These seals are made of glazed and unglazed composite material (frit and faience) and characterised by smooth lines and the use of drill holes. They are attributable to between the 15th and 11th centuries BCE.

Mitannian seals were divided into two groups by Edith Porada, based on her work with the seals and sealings from Nuzi: ‘common style’ and ‘elaborate style’.<sup>2</sup> Since then, her categories have become more widely used, for groups of seals from both eastern locations (correlating to the Kirkuk Group) and western locations (which must be subdivided again into the Ugarit and Levantine subgroups).<sup>3</sup>

The seals of ‘elaborate style’ are a varied group. They are well worked and, on the whole, tend not to be of faience. They are usually made of colourful stone: marble, chert or hematite.<sup>4</sup>

The unity of the ‘common style’ of the Mitanni Glyptic, both eastern and western, is expressed in an affinity between themes and especially the use of a common material—quartz-frit.<sup>5</sup>

Based on these categories, the Bayazid Abad seals are Mitannian common style and can be divided into several groups according to their scene composition:

- I. Human Groups
  - a. humans only
  - b. humans with animals
  - c. humans with plants
  - d. humans with patterns
- II. Animal Group
  - i. Mammals
  - ii. mammals only
  - iii. mammals with plants
  - a. mammals with plants and patterns
  - b. Fish
  - c. Birds
- III. Plant Group
- IV. Geometric Group:
  - a. vertical rows of horizontal and diagonal lines
  - b. X-shaped patterns
  - c. herringbone, vertical and horizontal zigzag patterns
- V. Unengraved Cylinder

<sup>2</sup> Poroda 1947, pp. 80–89.

<sup>3</sup> Stein 1997, p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Poroda 1980, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Salje 1990, p. 163.

## CATALOGUE

(H = height; D = diameter; L = length)

## I. HUMAN GROUP

I.a. *Human only*

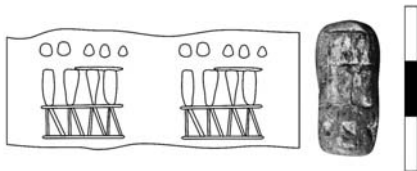
## I.a.1. BAY 16.1 (Fig. 1)

Faïence. L: 3.2 mm; D: 1.1 mm. Seated stylised deity figure opposite crescent disk standard. Between them there is a standing human figure with legs spread wide apart. This seal belongs to Salje's Syrian Group 3.2.1.<sup>6</sup> A very similar cylinder seal in terms of material, technique, composition of the main scene, position, and detail was found at Ras Shamra and Nippur.<sup>7</sup>



## I.a.2. BAY 16.2 (Fig. 2)

White faïence. L: 2.0 mm; D: 1.1 mm. The seal is broken and only the lower half survives. It shows a long-robed figure sitting on a chair opposite a figure in a short kilt, who kneels. Between them is a standard. There is no exact parallel to this scene amongst Mitannian seals.



## I.a.3. BAY 3.3 (Fig. 3)

Faïence. L: 2.4 mm; D: 1.1 mm. The main scene belongs to Stein's Group 2: a row of figures marching toward the right. There are three horizontal grooves around the seal: one is a border, another is at the figures' shoulder height and may indicate arms, while the third is at hip height and

<sup>6</sup> Salje, 1990, p. 85, pl. 9.178–180.

<sup>7</sup> Sheaffer 1983, p. 121: 19.188 (Ras Shamra); LeGrain 1925, p. 631, Matthews 1992, p. 139, no. 206 (Nippur).

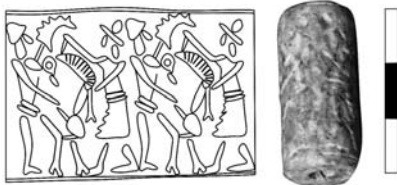
may be the hem of the figures' kilts.<sup>8</sup> Seals of this type seem to have been more popular in the east, particularly at Nuzi and Tell Mohammed Arab, than in the west at Beth Shan or Alalakh.<sup>9</sup>

I.b. *Human with Animal*



I.b.1. BAY 10.4 (Fig. 4)

Faience. L: 3.4 cm; D: 1.0 cm. The design on the seal is two antithetic figures in long garments and round caps. They have raised arms and are facing a winged standard with globular base, positioned above a forward-facing antelope head in the lower part of the seal. Alongside and above the figures is a goat which appears to be awaiting sacrifice; below it lies the figures of upended goats, lying face downward. Couchant animals sideways-on, front-on or addorsed, frequently appear on their own or as part of a scene.<sup>10</sup> The best parallel for this seal comes from Nuzi.<sup>11</sup>



I.b.2. BAY 4.5 (Fig. 5)

Faience. L: 2.7 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Two contests are portrayed, each featuring two long nose heroes. On the left is a hero who is naked apart from a rounded wide-brimmed hat and doubled belt. A horned animal (antelope) standing on its hind legs faces him. The hero's right foot is placed on the animal's hind leg. His left hand grasps one of its horns and his right, its tail. The contestant on the right is wearing a short kilt with doubled belt and a rounded hat with brim. He is holding the animal by its foreleg with his right hand and has a scimitar in his left hand, above the animal's neck. The contest depicted on the right is identical. This seal belongs to Salje's Palestinian Group 3.4.1.<sup>12</sup> Mitannian seals depicting contests between heroes and rampant antelopes have been found at Tell Mohammed Arab, Hazor, and Beth Shean level IX (Thutmose III).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Stein 1993a, p. 82, fig. 19:h.

<sup>9</sup> Porada, 1947, no. 325ff. (Nuzi); Collon 1988, p. 68: 4.45S:21.01, pl. 7 (Tell Mohammed Arab); Parker 1949, no. 93 (Beth Shan); Collon 1975, no. 205 (Alalakh).

<sup>10</sup> Collon 1987, p. 62.

<sup>11</sup> Stein 1993b, p. 420, fig. 515.

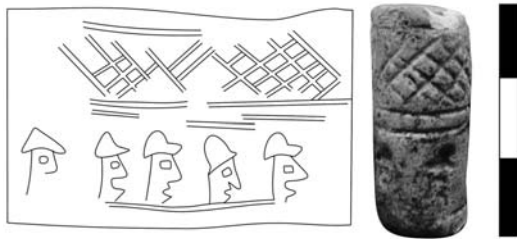
<sup>12</sup> Salje 1990, p. 93, pl. 11:206–210.

<sup>13</sup> Collon 1988, p. 67: 3.40P:07.01, pl. 6 (Tell Mohammed Arab); Beck 1989, pl. 319: 3–4, Yadin 1961, pl. 319:3 (Hazor); Parker 1974, no. 48 (Beth Shean).



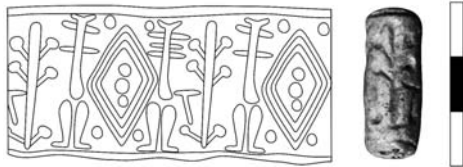
I.b.3. BAY 2.6 (Fig. 6)

Faience. L: 2.9 cm; D: 1.1 cm. A deity in round cap wears a long, embroidered robe that exposes his left leg. He holds a lash or bent staff behind him with his right hand, while his left hand is holding the tail of a rampant griffon. There is no exact parallel to this scene, but some details, such as the deity with scimitar and the rampant griffon, appear on many Mitannian seals, especially at Nuzi.<sup>14</sup> The same griffon also appears on the Early Neo-Elamite cylinder seal which was found at Surkh Dum.<sup>15</sup>

I.c. *Human with Pattern*

I.c.1. BAY 23.7 (Fig. 7)

Faience with traces of green glaze remaining. L: 2.9 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Two registers are divided by a horizontal line. The upper register consists of cross-hatching and the lower has five human heads in round caps facing right. Seals of this type occur at Beth Shan.<sup>16</sup>

I.d. *Human with plants*

I.d.1. BAY 11.8 (Fig. 8)

Glazed faience. L: 3.1 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Stylised figure stands between trees each with six globular-ended branches and triple-bordered lozenges centred with three circles. In most Mitannian common seals trees with branches of this kind are depicted with four, five or seven spheres, as can be

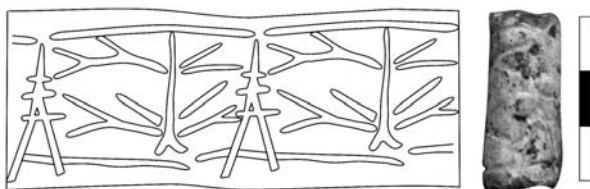
<sup>14</sup> Stein 2010, p. 366, no. 2; 1993.

<sup>15</sup> Muscarella 2013, p. 451, no. 38.

<sup>16</sup> Parker 1949, pl. 17, no. 115.



seen at Alalakh;<sup>17</sup> this stylized tree with six globes is special and seems only to occur in Bayazid Abad. There is no similar scene to this among the other Mitannian seals in terms of how the figure, tree and lozenges appear.



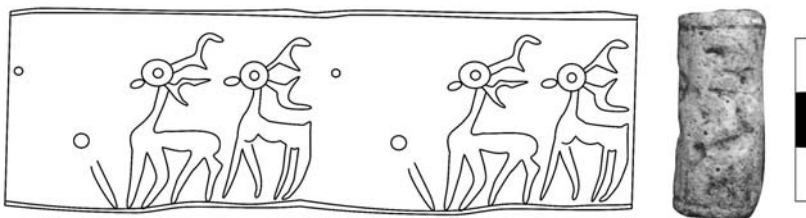
I.d.2. BAY 18.9 (Fig. 9)

Green-glazed faience. L: 3.0 cm; D: 1.4 cm. Stylised figures resembling pegs are associated with a spidery palm tree. This seal also belongs to Salje's Syrian Group 3.2.1.<sup>18</sup> The stylised palm tree occurs, with differing details, on many Mitannian seals. Here, it is depicted with an ibex alongside it, as in the case of seals discovered at Tell Mohammed Arab and Megiddo.<sup>19</sup> Stylised humans also appear beside the trees, with or without and date-clusters hanging below them, in examples from Ras Shamra that are exact parallels to the Bayazid Abad seal.<sup>20</sup>

## II. ANIMAL GROUP

### II.a. *Mammals*

#### II.a.i. *Mammals only*



II.a.i.1. BAY 13.10 (Fig. 10)

Faience. L: 3.8 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Row of antelopes, facing left with a line border above and below. Friezes of horned animals, with alternating upright and drooping tails, are common in Mitannian glyptic art. Examples are known from Assur in the time of Eriba-Adad, Beth Shean Stratum VII, Nuzi, Hazor, and Tell el-Hesi.<sup>21</sup> The seals from Palestine and Assur lack border designs, whereas the seal from Hazor and the sealing from Nuzi have single or double bands.

<sup>17</sup> Collon 1982, p. 11, pl. 2.

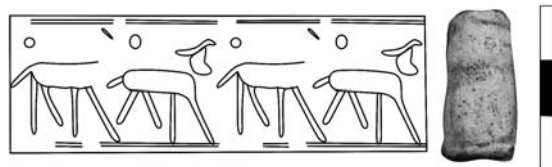
<sup>18</sup> Salje 1990, p. 84, pl. 11:172–177.

<sup>19</sup> Collon 1988, p. 63: 45R:09.01(MA 394), pl. 6 (Tell Mohammed Arab); Amiran 1970, pl. 50:4 (Megiddo).

<sup>20</sup> Schaeffer 1983, p. 167, esp. R.S. 8:152 and 25:172 (with date clusters) and 25:248 and 24:02 (without date clusters).

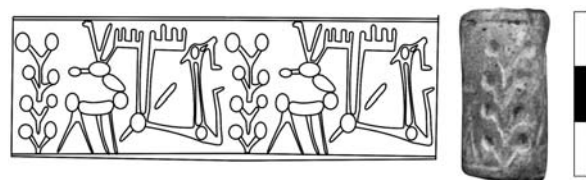
<sup>21</sup> Beran 1957, no. 99 (Assur); Parker 1949, nos. 54, 85 (Beth Shean); Porada 1974, nos. 414–416, 419 (Nuzi); Beck 1989, pl. 320, no. 4 (Hazor); Parker 1949, no. 110 (Tell el-Hesi).





II.a.i.2. BAY 15.11 (Fig. 11)

Faience. L: 2.3 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Two stylised bulls are illustrated, walking to the right with a line border above and below. This scene is unique and likely to have been a local product of Bayazid Abad.

II.a.ii. *Mammals with Plants*

II.a.ii.1. BAY 56.12 (Fig. 12)

Faience. L: 2.9 cm; D: 1.4 cm. The design seems to be stylised tree with vertically aligned pairs of globes, beside two antelopes on the right. One antelope lies upended with its head extended in profile to the left and its horns facing front. The other antelope looks back over its shoulders. A very similar cylinder seal in material, technique, composition of the main scene, position of the animals, and detail of the central tree was found at Dinkha Tepe, which is not far from Bayazid Abad.<sup>22</sup> Numerous examples have also been found in Palestine, at Beth Shan, Tell Abu Hawanon, the coast near Megiddo, Lachish Nos. (40, 114, 125, and 127), Tell el Hesya near Lachish, Tell Fara and Megiddo south, Gezer, Ugarit, Mardik and Hazor.<sup>23</sup> Similar motifs are found in North Mesopotamian (Alalakh) and seal impression were found at Nippur.<sup>24</sup> The popularity of this type of tree outside of Palestine is also evident.



II.a.ii.2. BAY 51.13 (Fig. 13)

Faience. L: 3.3 cm; D: 1.3 cm. Facing horned quadrupeds, rearing up on either side of a tree. In the lower section there is a fish on either side of each tree and in the upper section at the right,

<sup>22</sup> Muscarella 1947, no. 6: 637.

<sup>23</sup> Nougayrol 1939, p. 13, no. 26 (AH. I) and pl. 1 (Tell el Hesya), Parker 1949, nos. 40, 44, 52, 54, 79 (Beth Shan), 101 (Tell Abu Hawanon), 105 (Megiddo), 110 (Lachish), 99 (Gezer); Kuhne 1980, no. 44 (Ugarite); Negahban 1977, p. 82, no. 1 (Marlik); Yadin 1961, p. 317, pl. 320: 2 (Hazor).

<sup>24</sup> Collon 1982, pp. 68–69: nos. 39, 40 (Alalakh); McCown 1967, pl. 120, no. 6 (Nippur).

there is a cross. The third Kassites used seals which were generally uninscribed and often depicted facing horned quadrupeds rearing up on either side of a tree. The Mitannian trees are depicted with globular dots on the ends of branches, or spidery branches, but the third Kassite tree branches have pine-cone shapes. They seem to be a simplified form of the tree found on a seal impression on a tablet from Nippur, dated to the 17th year of Kurigalzu II; that is, 1329 BCE.<sup>25</sup> The animals' horns are bent, which is completely different from the style of Mitannian horns. Third Kassite seals normally have some symbols in the field. The most important are the cross, the rhomb, the crescent, the star and the bird. The cross is of the Maltese form.<sup>26</sup> The simplified Nippur tree is also depicted in one of the Tell Mohammed Arab seals,<sup>27</sup> and a parallel for the cross comes from Surkh Dum.<sup>28</sup>

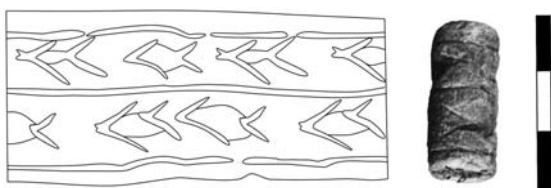
### II.a.iii. *Mammals with Plants and Patterns*



#### II.a.iii.1. BAY 19.14 (Fig. 14)

Frit. L: 5.5 cm; D: 1.7 cm. There is a stylised gazelle under herringbone decoration, walking to the left, with a stylised tree in front of it. The design is bordered at the top by a frieze of triangles filled with crosshatching and a horizontal line above it. In the lower part, there are two horizontal lines of diagonal hatching. There is no exact parallel to this scene among Mitannian seals.

### II.b. *Fish*



#### II.b.1. BAY 22.15 (Fig. 15)

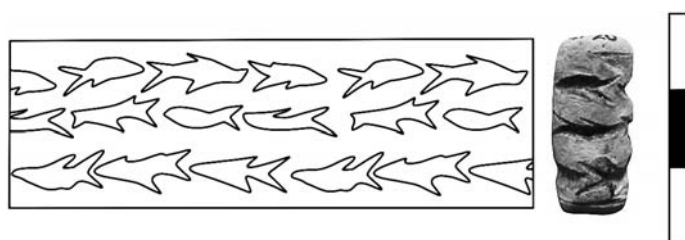
Dark brown faience. L: 2.6 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Two rows of fish appear on this seal, divided by a horizontal line. Both rows of fish face left.

<sup>25</sup> Beran 1957–1958, fig. 11:265, 267: fig. o; Collon 1987, p. 60, no. 60.

<sup>26</sup> Matthews 1990, p. 65.

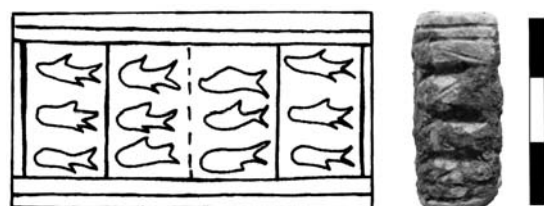
<sup>27</sup> Collon 1988, p. 60, 6.49S:2 5.01.

<sup>28</sup> Muscarella 2013, p. 452, no. 39.



II.b.2. BAY 20.16 (Fig. 16)

Faïence. L: 2.6 cm; D: 1.3 cm. Three rows of fish are portrayed in this scene, the first row are facing right and second and third rows are facing left. There is an upper and a lower horizontal border line.

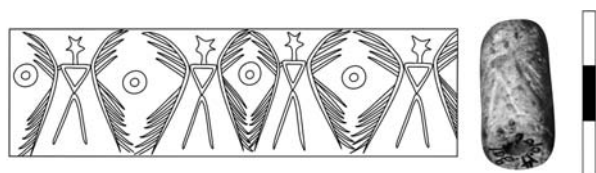


II.b.3. BAY 21.17 (Fig. 17)

Faïence with traces of white glaze remaining. L: 2.6 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Three rows of fish are portrayed, facing left; a double line forms the upper and lower horizontal border. Two vertical lines divide the fish into three vertical rows. Seals with fish in various combinations are known from sites in Palestine (Gezer, Megiddo, and Beth Shean), Ras Shamra, Alalakh, Hama, Assur, and Cyprus. In Nuzi they appear until the fourth generation. The earliest date for this group is provided by the seal from Beth Shean—the 15th century BCE onwards.<sup>29</sup>

A row of fish between two bands of guilloché was also portrayed on sealings from Kiziltepe (Anatolian Group).

## II.c. *Birds*

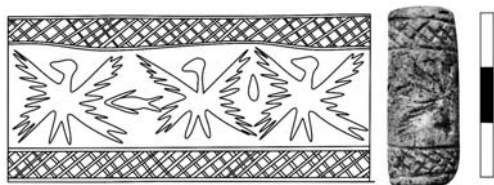


II.c.1. BAY 14.18 (Fig. 18)

Faïence. L: 2.6 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Two stylised birds with a two circles, one inside the other, between them. It seems the bird figures represent two-winged genii. This type of imaginary creature, supporting a sun disc, is seen in Mitannian glyptic and is not unique,<sup>30</sup> but for this particular style there is no exact parallel among the Mitannian seals.

<sup>29</sup> Beck 1989, p. 319, pl. 322:1, 2, 3, 4.

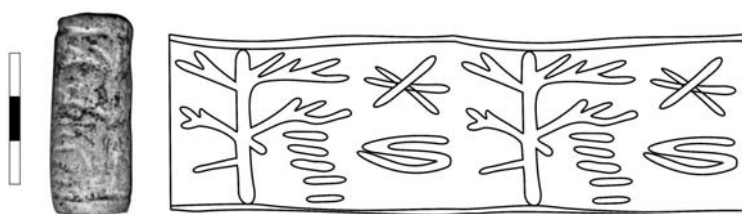
<sup>30</sup> Kantor 1945, p. 544, fig. 14.3.



II.c.2. BAY 12.19 (Fig. 19)

Faience. L: 3.4 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Three registers are divided by horizontal lines. The upper and lower registers consist of bands of crosshatching; the middle part depicts winged birds with a teardrop and a horizontal fish. The fish and cross-hatched bands are common among Mitannian seals, but birds of this kind are rare.

### III. PLANT GROUP



III.1 BAY 55.20 (Fig. 20)

Faience with traces of green glaze remaining. L: 4.2 cm; D: 1.5 cm. A naturalistic tree is depicted alongside an irregularly shaped six-pointed star above a snake-shaped figure. The same design is seen from Ras Shamra.<sup>31</sup>

### IV. GEOMETRIC GROUP

This group includes 35 cylinders made of glazed or unglazed composite material. They are carved with geometric designs that include one, two or three bands of diagonal cross hatching. They consistently have one, two or three horizontal lines at top and bottom.

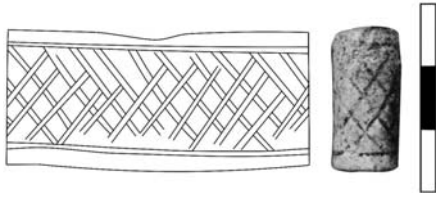
These cylinders have parallels from all over the ancient Near East. Marcus believes that the geometric cylinders from Hasanlu 4b, which is synchronous with Bayazid Abad tumulus, were worn as beads and used for actually sealing goods as well.<sup>32</sup>

The geometric design is one of the most common patterns in Mitannian glyptic art, usually appearing in longer horizontal or vertical bands. It is known from Nuzi, Ras Shamra, and Alalakh, and is also popular on the seals from Palestine. Geometric seals of this type belong to the Mitannian common style of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Schaefer 1983, p. 91, no. 7:107.

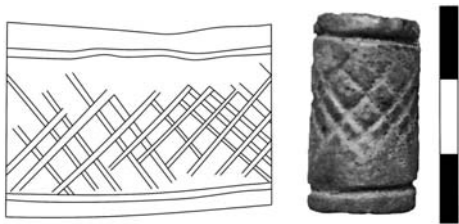
<sup>32</sup> Marcus 1996, p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> See Salje 1990; Stein 1993; Matthews 1997.



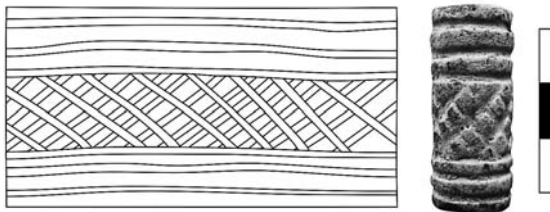
IV.1. BAY 54.21 (Fig. 21)

White faience. L: 2.2 cm; D: 1.2 cm. The design is a wide band of diagonal crosshatching, with one horizontal band above and below.



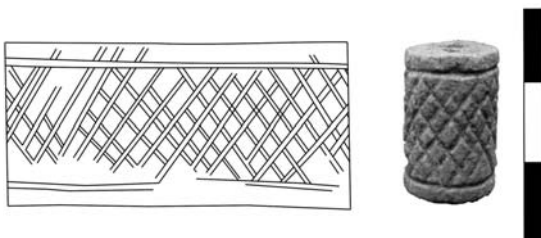
IV.2. BAY 50.22 (Fig. 22)

Blue-glazed faience. L: 2.6 cm; D: 1.1 cm. The design is a wide band of diagonal crosshatching, with one horizontal band above and below.



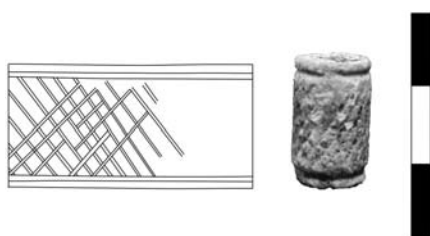
IV.3. BAY 41.23 (Fig. 23)

Faience. L: 3.4 cm; D: 1.3 cm. The design is a wide band of diagonal crosshatching, with three horizontal bands above and three below.



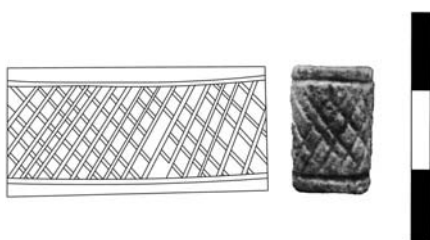
IV.4. BAY 24.24 (Fig. 24)

Faience. L: 2.3 cm; D: 1.1 cm. The design was carved carelessly, with diagonal lines of the crosshatching overlapping the border lines. There is one horizontal band above and one below.



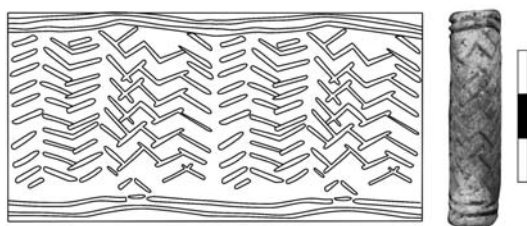
IV.5. BAY 26.25 (Fig. 25)

Faience with traces of green glaze remaining. L: 2.1 cm; D: 1.1 cm. The design is a wide band of diagonal crosshatching, with one horizontal band above and one below.



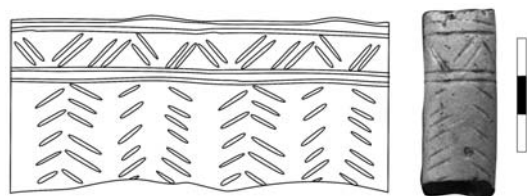
IV.6. BAY 57.26 (Fig. 26)

Faience. L: 2.0 cm; D: 1.2 cm. The design is a wide band of diagonal crosshatching, with one horizontal band above and one below.



IV.7. BAY 31.27 (Fig. 27)

Egyptian blue. L: 4.4 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains a horizontal design of parallel zigzag lines, bordered at the top and bottom by double straight lines.

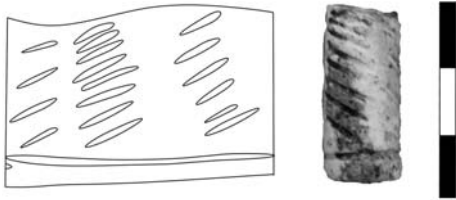


IV.8. BAY 2.28 (Fig. 28)

White faience. L: 4.8 cm; D: 1.8 cm. Two registers are divided by double horizontal lines. The upper register consists of zigzag pattern made up of double parallel lines, and the lower register

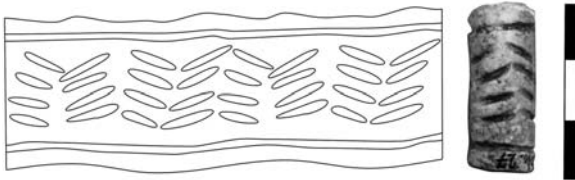


contains a vertical rows of chevrons and diagonal lines. The lower edge of the design is broken, but it possibly had a similar design to the upper register.



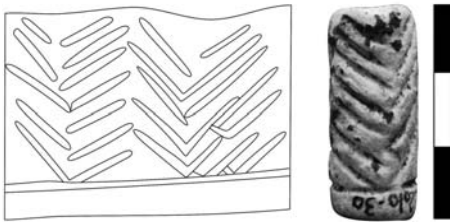
IV.9. BAY 19.29 (Fig. 29)

Faience. L: 2.4 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains parallel diagonal lines bordered by a single straight line at each of the top and the bottom.



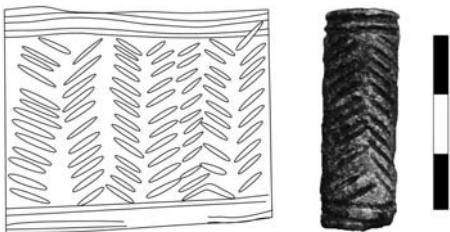
IV.10. BAY 39.30 (Fig. 30)

Faience. L: 2.6 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains rows of diagonal lines bordered by a single straight line at each of the top and the bottom.



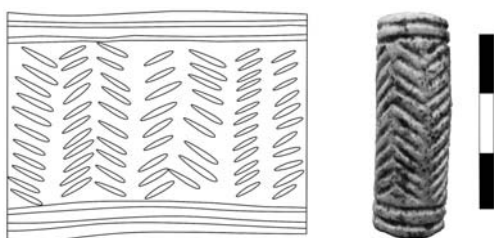
IV.11. BAY 30.31 (Fig. 31)

Buff composite material. L: 2.5 cm; D: 1 cm. Contains a row of diagonal and zigzag lines bordered at the bottom by a single straight line. The upper part is broken.



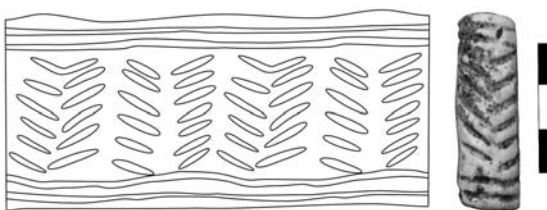
IV.12. BAY 44.32 (Fig. 32)

Dark blue faience. L: 3.3 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains rows of diagonal lines bordered at each of the top and the bottom by two straight lines.



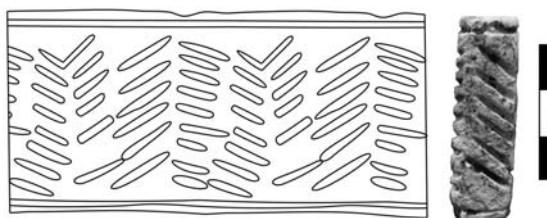
IV.13. BAY 45.33 (Fig. 33)

Blue-glazed faience. L: 3.5 cm; D: 1.3 cm. Contains rows of diagonal lines bordered at each of the top and the bottom by two straight lines.



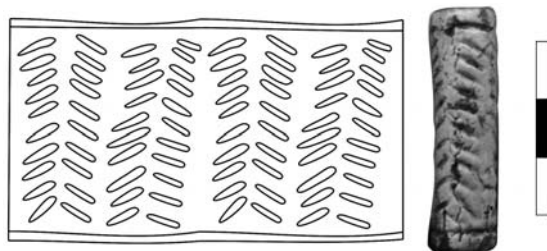
IV.14. BAY 52.34 (Fig. 34)

White faience. L: 4.1 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains rows of diagonal lines bordered at each of the top and the bottom by two straight lines.



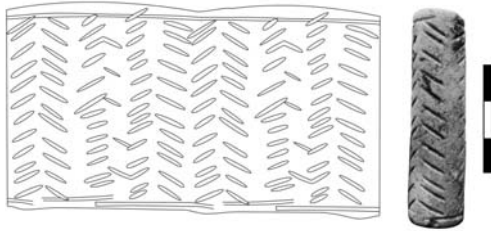
IV.15. BAY 40.35 (Fig. 35)

Faience. L: 3.7 cm; D: 1.2 cm. Contains rows of diagonal lines bordered at each of the top and bottom by one straight line.



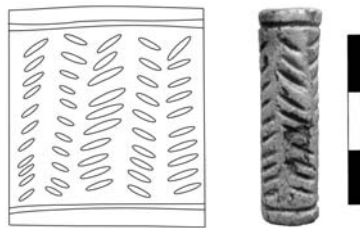
IV.16. BAY 46.36 (Fig. 36)

Blue-glazed faience. L: 3.3 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains rows of diagonal lines bordered at each of the top and the bottom by two straight lines.



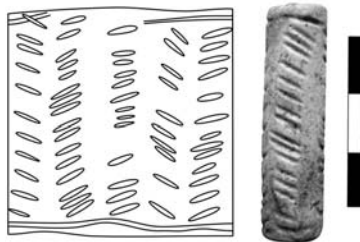
IV.17. BAY 1.37 (Fig. 37)

Green-glazed faience. L: 4.3 cm; D: 1.2 cm. Contains a row of chevrons bordered at each of the top and the bottom by one straight line.



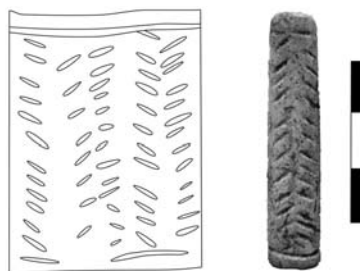
IV.18. BAY 43.38 (Fig. 38)

Blue-glazed faience. L: 3.3 cm; D: 9 mm. Contains a row of chevrons, bordered at each of the top and the bottom by one straight line.



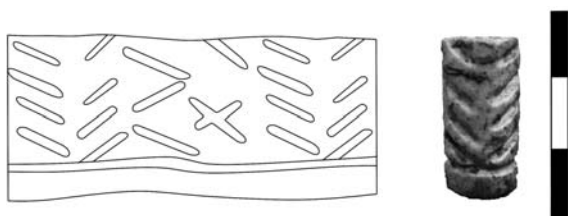
IV.19. BAY 42.39 (Fig. 39)

Blue-glazed faience. L: 3.6 cm; D: 1 cm. Contains a row of chevrons, bordered at each of the top and bottom by one straight line.



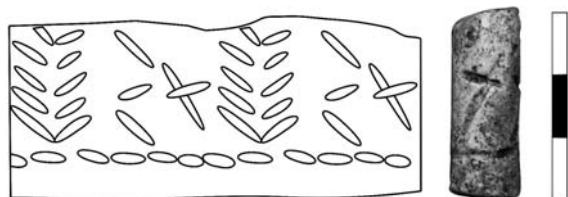
IV.20. BAY 47.40 (Fig. 40)

Green-glazed faience. L: 4.4 cm; D: 9 mm. Contains a row of chevrons, bordered at each of the top and bottom by one straight line.



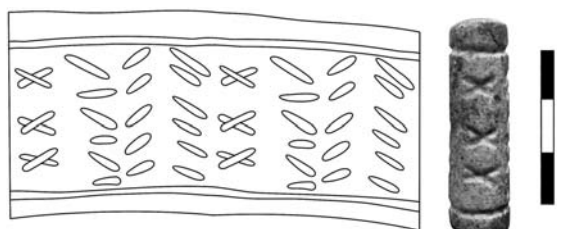
IV.21. BAY 36.41 (Fig. 41)

Blue-glazed faience. L: 2.1 cm; D: 1 cm. Contains parallel diagonal lines and scattered X-shapes, bordered at the top by a simple straight line. The top section is broken.



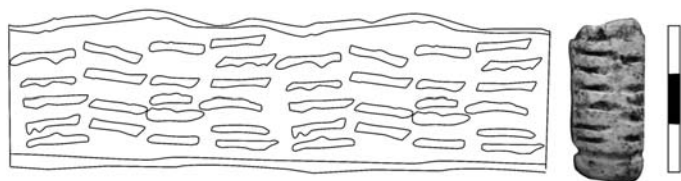
IV.22. BAY 37.42 (Fig. 42)

Egyptian blue. L: 2.1 cm; D: 1 cm. Contains parallel diagonal lines and scattered X-shapes in the field, bordered at the bottom by short diagonal lines. The upper part is broken.



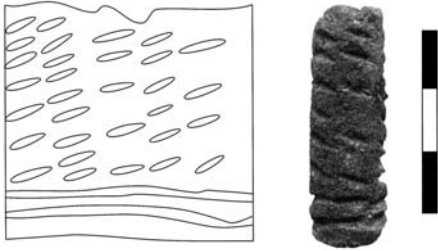
IV.23. BAY 38.43 (Fig. 43)

Blue-glazed faience. L: 3.5 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains vertical rows of parallel diagonal lines and X-shapes in a field bordered at the top and bottom by one straight line.



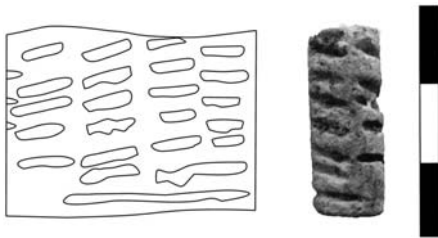
IV.24. BAY 34.44 (Fig. 44)

Faience. L: 2.7 cm; D: 1.2 cm. Contains parallel horizontal lines, and is bordered at each of the top and bottom by one straight line.



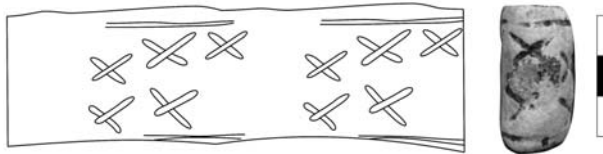
IV.25. BAY 29.45 (Fig. 45)

Dark brown faience. L: 3.9 cm; D: 1.0 cm. Contains parallel horizontal lines, and is bordered at the bottom by two straight lines. The upper part is broken.



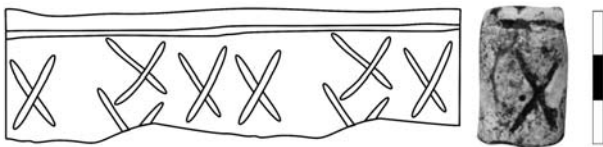
IV.26. BAY 53.46 (Fig. 46)

Faience. L: 2.9 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains parallel horizontal and diagonal lines, and is bordered at the top by one straight line. The upper part is broken.



IV.27. BAY 28.47 (Fig. 47)

White faience. L: 2.9 cm; D: 1.4 cm. Contains scattered X-shapes in the field, and is bordered at each of the top and bottom by one straight line.



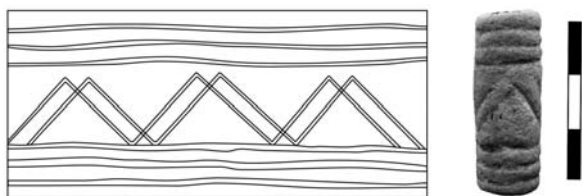
IV.28. BAY 7.48 (Fig. 48)

Faience. L: 2.2 cm; D: 1.4 cm. Contains scattered X-shapes in the field, and is bordered at the bottom by a simple straight line. The lower part is broken.



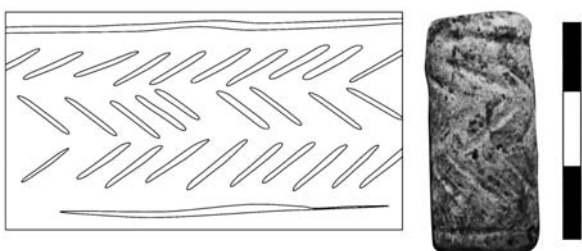
IV.29. BAY 35.49 (Fig. 49)

White faience. L: 2.3 cm; D: 1.3 cm. The two registers are divided by double horizontal lines. The upper register consists of two parallel zigzag patterns, and the lower register contains a double zigzag band encircling the seal. A single line encircles the seal at the top; the upper part is broken.



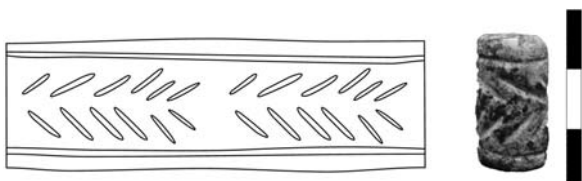
IV.30. BAY 32.50 (Fig. 50)

Faience. L: 3.2 cm; D: 1.2 cm. Consists of two parallel zigzag patterns. Three lines encircle the seal at each of the top and the bottom.



IV.31. BAY 25.51 (Fig. 51)

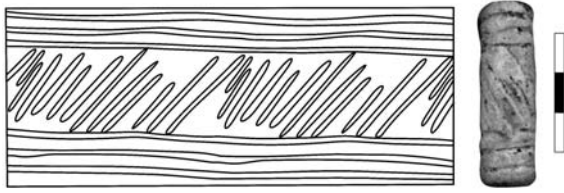
Faience. L: 2.3 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Its design consists of three rows of open horizontal bands of unconnected lines of parallel zigzags, bordered by one line at each of the top and bottom.



IV.32. BAY 17.52 (Fig. 52)

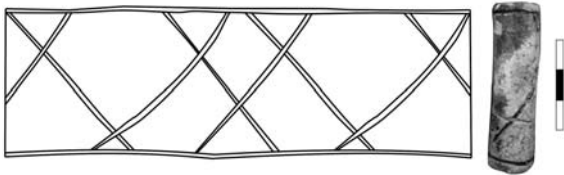
Faience with traces of green glaze remaining. L: 2.1 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Its design consists of two rows of open horizontal bands of unconnected lines of parallel zigzags, bordered by one line at each of the top and the bottom.





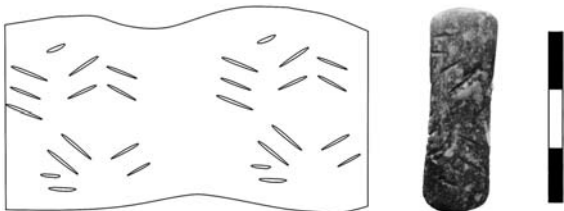
IV.33. BAY 48.53 (Fig. 53)

Faience. L: 4 cm; D: 1.2 cm. Contains a row of long diagonal lines, bordered at each of the top and the bottom by three straight lines.



IV.34. BAY 49.54 (Fig. 54)

Green glazed faience. L: 4.9 cm; D: 1.4 cm. Contains long diagonal lines, bordered at each of the top and the bottom by a simple straight line.



IV.35. BAY 56.55 (Fig. 55)

Hard green stone. L: 3.4 cm; D: 1.1 cm. Contains a row of diagonal lines.

## V. UNENGRAVED CYLINDERS

These cylinders have no decorative incisions and they are made of glazed and unglazed composite material. Their heights range from 2.3 cm to 3.7 cm. It seems that they were used as beads.

## CONCLUSION

The Bayazid Abad cylinder seals, with their various designs, workmanship, and techniques, point to a very wide range of interrelationships throughout the ancient world, from the Mediterranean Sea to Iran. They reflect production of seals in the Mitannian period on a massive scale. The seals

were then traded throughout the ancient world. Although there are some seals among the Bayazid Abad finds which are unique, in detail and technique they are Mitannian, except the seal numbered BAY 51. 13 (Fig. 13), which in its details seems to be a simplified form of a common scene of the third Kassite period, exemplified by horned quadrupeds rearing up on either side of a tree; and seal number BAY 15. 10 (Fig. 10), which seems to be a local Bayazid Abad product. From the comparisons discussed, it can be seen that the Bayazid Abad seals can be dated from the 15th to 11th century BCE.

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# The Neo-Assyrian Bronze Coffin discovered in Sarāb-e Qareh Dāneh, Kouzarān; Kermānshāh: A Clue to an Important Burial in Western Irān

Sajjad ALIBAIGI and Shokouh KHOSRAVI

## Abstract

*In 1989, during earthworks at the site known as Khāk Kan-e Sarāb-e Qareh Dāneh, north of Kouzarān (west of Kermānshāh), a valuable bronze “bathtub” coffin was accidentally discovered by Chiā-Khazān villagers, and was later transferred to Kermānshāh Cultural Heritage Organization. It is an oval-shaped coffin with four vertical riveted handles leading to a seven-petal lotus. Although we cannot be sure about the archaeological context of this discovery, the small number of finds of this kind in regions connected or adjacent to Assyria, which is the probable source of these coffins, makes this example quite precious. Like previous examples from Ziwiye, Arjān and Jubaji, it seems that this coffin belonged to a prince, local king or dignitary, the bodies of whom were usually placed in tombs. So far, the coffins have only been seen in the western part of Iran, from Dailamān in the north to Behbahān in the south. Therefore, this coffin from Khāk Kan probably belonged to a prince, a local king or at least a dignitary who lived in the period between the late eighth and the early sixth century BC.*

**Keywords:** Central Zagros, Kouzarān plain, Bronze bathtub Coffin, Median Period, Neo-Assyrian Period

## Introduction

Up to now, bronze “bathtub” coffins related to different periods have been discovered at six sites in the current geographical context of Iran. These coffins came from Susa, Ziwiye (near Saqez), Dailamān (near Behbahān), Choubtarāsh (near Khorramābād), and Jubaji, Rāmhormoz.<sup>1</sup> All date back to the eighth to fourth centuries BC. The archaeological context of

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<sup>1</sup> Morgan 1905 (Susa); Godard 1950, pp. 13–18, Wilkinson 1960, p. 213, fig. 1 and p. 219 (Ziwiye); Curtis 1983, pl. 26a (Dailamān); Tohidi and Khalilian 1982, Alizadeh 1985, Stronach 2003, p. 252, Alvarez-Mon 2010 (Arjān); Adeli *et al.* 2006; Shishegar 2015, p. 82 (Choubtarāsh); Shishegar 2015, pp. 66–67 (Jubaji).

these findings, and the funerary offerings that accompany some of them, indicate that coffins of this kind belonged to dignitaries or wealthy princes. The finding at Arjān clearly indicates (by means of a neo-Elamite inscription on a golden ring) that the coffin contains the body of a prince or a local Elamite king of the eighth to sixth century BC. Other bronze coffins were discovered outside the current borders of Iran in Lidar Huyuk, and Zincirli in southern Turkey.<sup>2</sup> Two samples from Ur and three samples from Nimrud have been discovered with approximately similar dating (Fig. 1 and Table 1).<sup>3</sup> These few findings and their particular contexts are very valuable. Two further examples of these coffins, in Kermānshāh and central Zagros, can provide important additional information (Fig. 2).

Site	Region	Type	Reference
Qareh Dāneh	Kermānshāh	oval	published here
Susa	Khuzistān	oval	Morgan 1905
Ziviye	Saqiz	D	Godard 1950, pp. 13–18; Wilkinson 1960, p. 213, fig. 1 and p. 219
Dailamān	Gilān	D	Curtis 1983: pl. XXVI a
Arjān	Behbehān	D	Tohidi and Khalilian 1982; Alizadeh 1985; Stronach 2003, p. 252; Alvarez-Mon 2010
Choubtarash	Khorramābād	oval	Adeli <i>et al.</i> 2006; Shishegar 2015, p. 82
Jubaji 1	Rāmhormoz	D	Shishegar 2015, pp. 66–67
Jubaji 2	Rāmhormoz	D	Shishegar 2015, pp. 66–67
Lidar Höyük	Urfa	oval	Mellink 1984, p. 448 and pl. 57 fig. 4
Zincirli	Gaziantep	D	von Luschan 1943, pp. 118–119, 171 pl. 57 b–d; Wartke 2005, fig. 83
Ur 1	Nasiriyah	D	Woolley 1962, pp. 56, 113, Pls. 16–18; Barnett 1956: pls. XVI–XVII; Curtis 1983: Pl. XXV
Ur 2	Nasiriyah	D	Woolley 1962, pp. 56, 113, pls. 16–18; Barnett 1956, pls. XVI–XVII; Curtis 1983, pl. XXV
Nimrud 1	Mosul	D	Damerji 1999, p. 4 and fig. 38; Oates and Oates 2001, pp. 68 and 202; Curtis 2008
Nimrud 2	Mosul	D	Damerji 1999, p. 4 and fig. 38; Oates and Oates 2001, pp. 68, 202; Curtis 2008
Nimrud 3	Mosul	D	Damerji 1999, p. 4 and fig. 38; Oates and Oates 2001, pp. 68, 202; Curtis 2008

Table 1. Iron Age bronze bathtub coffins.

<sup>2</sup> Mellink 1984, p. 448 and pl. 57, fig. 4 (Lidar Huyuk); von Luschan 1943, pp. 118–119, 171, pl. 57 b–d, Wartke 2005, fig. 83 (Zincirli).

<sup>3</sup> Woolley 1962, pp. 56, 113, pl. 16–18, Barnett 1956, pl. 16–17, Curtis 1983, pl. 25 (Ur); Damerji 1999, p. 4 and fig. 38, Oates and Oates 2001, pp. 68, 202, Curtis 2008, Barnett 1956, Stein 2014 (Nimrud).



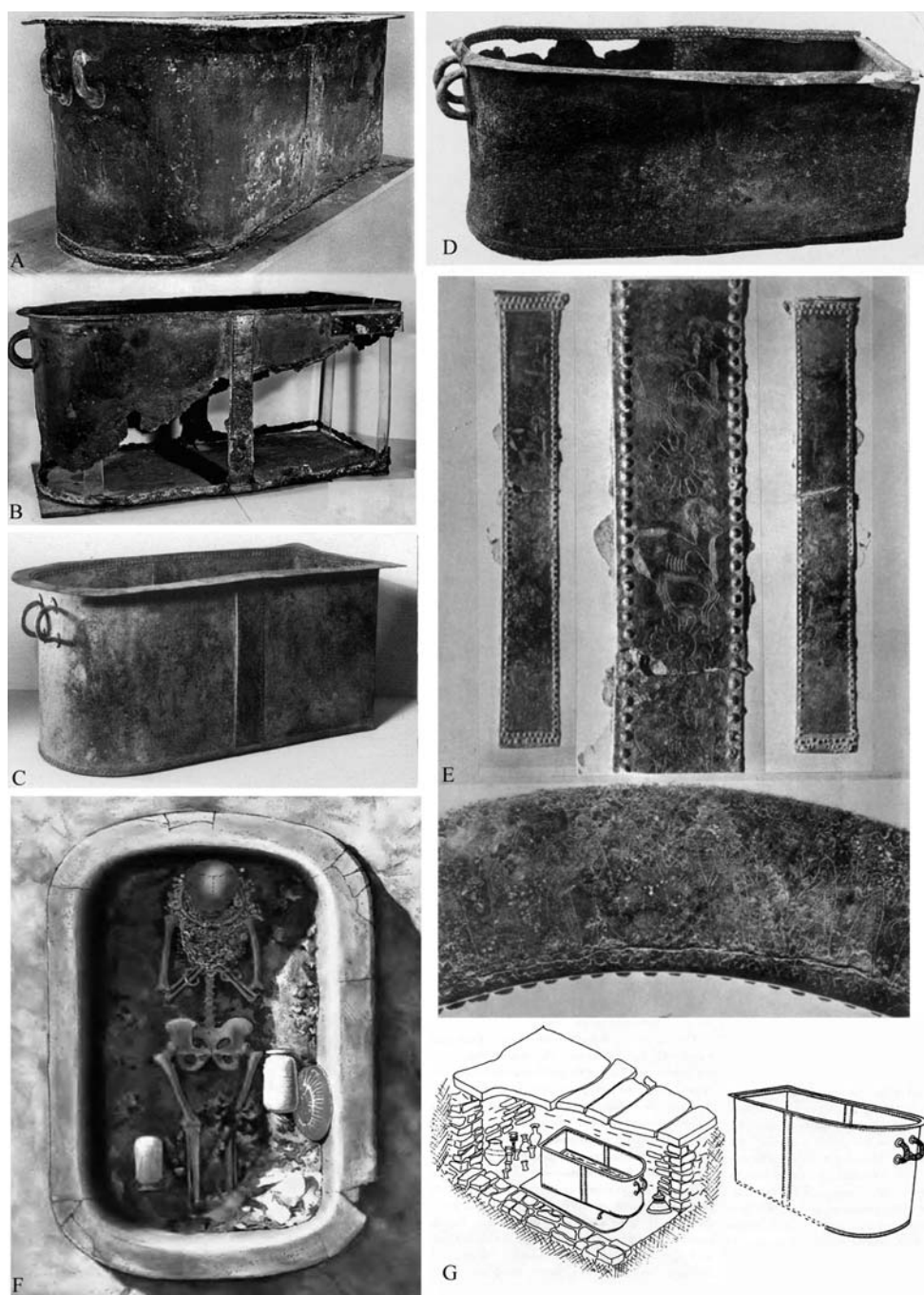


Fig. 1. Some examples of bronze coffins from Iran, Mesopotamia and Turkey: A and B) Ur (Barnett 1956, pl. 16–17; Curtis 2008, p. 20 d– e); C) Dailamān (Curtis 1983, pl. 26a); D) Zincirli (Andrae 1943, pl. 57; Warke 2005, fig. 83); E) Ziwiye (Barnett 1956, pl. 16); F) Susa (Morgan 1905, pl. 2); G) Arjān (Alizadeh 1985, p. 2).

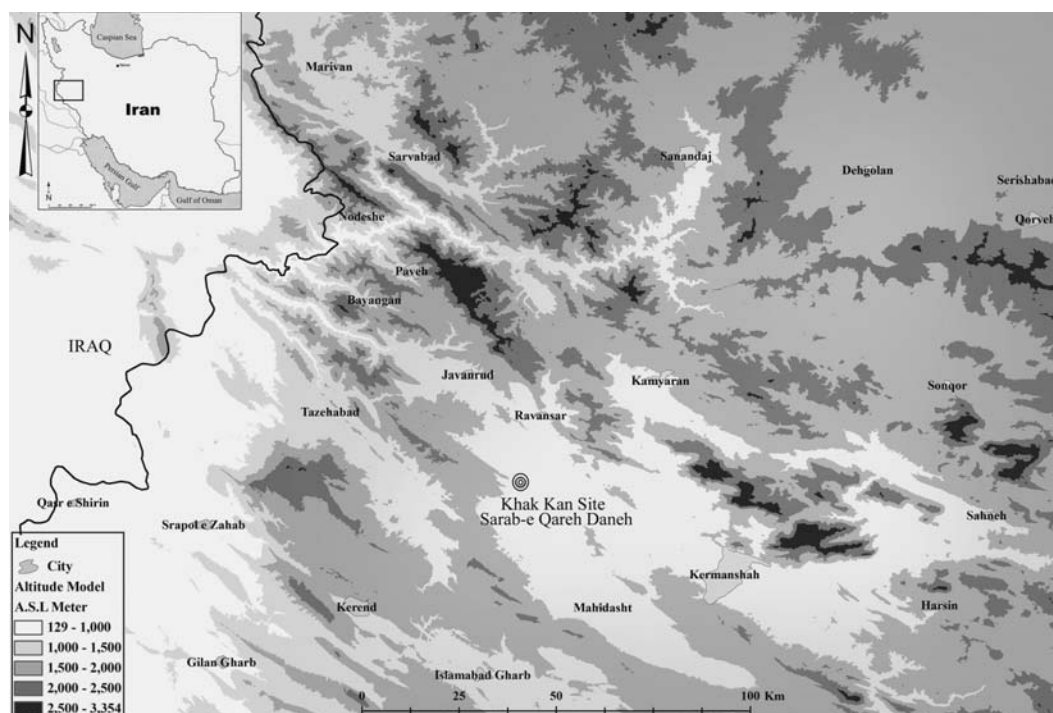


Fig. 2. Map of part of the west of Iran and the approximate location of the bronze coffin's discovery (with thanks to Mr Saïd Bahramiyân).

### New discovery

The bronze object which is the subject of this study is preserved in the small museum of ethnology, beside some ceramic pithoi, in the Qājārian monument of Moāven Al-Molk Tekyeh in Kermānshāh. No precise information is available about its archaeological context and according to Nourollāh Karimi, the trustee of the Kermānshāh C.H.H.T.O, and Alirezā Delfāni, the expert of this organisation, this object was accidentally discovered nearby Sarāb-e Qareh Dāneh and shortly thereafter transferred to Kermānshāh by the late Ali Akbar Bahrāmi, the head guard of the office. We were advised by Alimir Karami and Mohammad Morādiyān, residents of Kouzarān and Chiā-Khazān village, that this object was apparently discovered by the late So'hrāb Moradiyān in the vicinity of Chiā-Khazān, about 4.5 km north of Kouzaran in the area of Qareh Dāneh. It seems that the object appeared during earthworks to obtain housing materials, yet we cannot be sure of the exact site or the archaeological context. There is no information in the archive of Kermānshāh I.C.H.T.O. about this very significant discovery.

### The site of Khāk Kan-e Sarab-e Qareh Dāneh

At a distance of 4600 m north of the small town of Kouzarān (50 km from Kermānshāh) and on the way from Kouzarān to Rawānsar, 740 m west of Chiā- Khazān village, 420 m east of

the well-known spring Sarāb-e Qareh Dāneh, and 3100 m west of Tapeh Kheibar, there is a place known to locals as Khak Kan-e Qareh-Daneh (Figs 3, 4). It is a natural low-lying mound on the edge of the plain, with some ceramic sherds scattered on its surface. The sherds are usually smashed, and very small and insignificant, so dating them is not possible. The current road from Kouzarān to Rawānsar passes right through the middle of the site and the area nearby that, according to locals, is the exact location where the bronze coffin was discovered. The coffin was found during earthworks by the late Soh'rāb Morādiyān, in 1989. According to his eldest son (Mohammad) and other residents, it was totally covered by soil and had a slate capping. It contained the remnants of human bones.



Fig. 3. Satellite Image of the site, Khak Kan-e Sarāb-e Qareh Dāneh.



Fig. 4. View from the site and location of the discovery of the bronze coffin (viewed from the east).

Unfortunately, due to no archaeologists being present at the time of this discovery, there is no precise information about the archaeological context of the object and other items possibly found with it. Our visit to the site was also inconclusive and no important or significant find was observed.

### Bronze Object

The object itself is a large oval container with overhanging edges, 50 cm in height, with a maximum length of 98 cm and width of 90 cm (Figs 5, 6). It has a circular, convex shape with a diameter of 72 cm increasing to 90–98 cm at its opening. The thickness of the upper parts of the container is 3–3.5 mm; this decreases toward the bottom, where the thickness is 2 mm. Traces of simple decoration and hammering in the shape of short parallel lines have made its edge a little wider and the thickness there is almost 5 mm.



Fig. 5. Front side of the Kermānshāh bronze “bathtub” coffin.



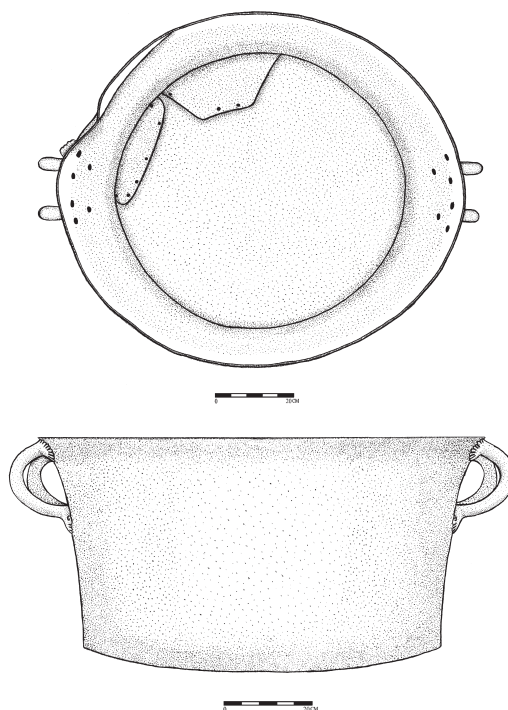


Fig. 6. Kermanshah bronze “bathtub” coffin (drawing by Mr Nāser Aminikhāh).

There are two vertical handles at either end of the object which, as in the case of other examples with handles discovered in Iran and at other sites, have been attached by rivets. The handles are semi-circular in shape with simple, circular sections. Their thickness is 29–31 mm and they have a maximum height of 190 mm at a distance of 95 mm from the container’s body. The junctions between the handles and the body are decorated with seven-petal lotus flowers with dimensions of 48 × 62 cm. The two flowers at the top of each handle are horizontal and symmetrical and the single flower at the bottom points downwards. There is a riveted impress between the sepals and petals which looks like a small, circular knob, with a diameter of 16–18 mm in the inner part of the container (Figs 7, 8).

All of the container except for the handles is a readymade piece. The fact that there is no sign of a seam or hammering shows that the moulding technique was used for its manufacture. The object’s surface is flat and smoothly polished and its construction is high quality. It is of simple appearance, without any motifs or decoration; however, it is covered with a green oxide and large parts of its bottom are damaged and decayed due to contact with moisture, so it is possible that there are some small and fine decorations under the sediments and rusts on the surface.

There are signs of riveting on the bottom and the outer surface of the object on two adjacent parts. Two large patches with overall dimensions of 30 × 14 cm and a smaller patch of 26 × 7 cm are riveted to the container’s body (Fig. 9). It is not clear whether they were applied during the manufacturing process or are related to repair and restoration, indicating the reuse of the coffin.

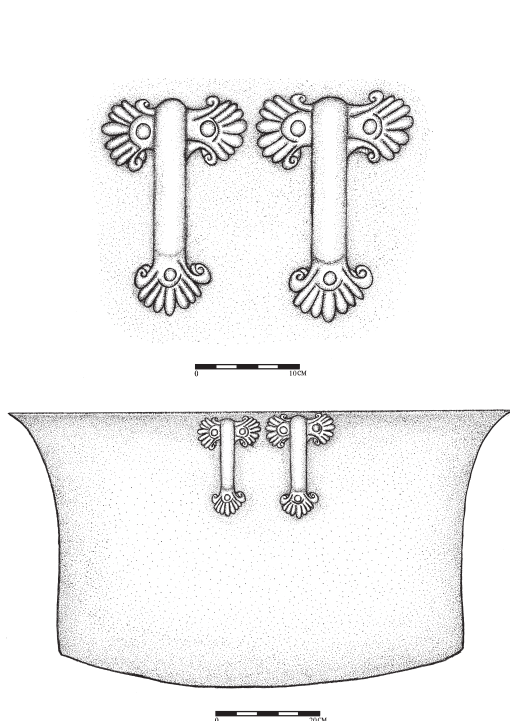


Fig. 7. Kermanshah bronze "bathtub" coffin (drawing by Mr Nāser Aminikhāh).



Fig. 8. Riveted handles of the bronze coffin.

The traces and remnants of a textile band under the outer surface of the edge and on some inner parts are very important and interesting (Fig. 10). Our studies reveal that this textile band was woven with a plain pattern and then attached to the body of the object.

### Assessments and Evaluations

As we know, all the metal coffins discovered in Iran are made of bronze and their general shape is oval, in some cases with two vertical handles. Thus, the object in the Moāven Al-Molk Tekyeh monument in Kermānshāh can definitely be said to be a coffin, though more rounded in shape. Its similar material, general shape and handles put it into the category of bronze coffins which have been discovered in the west of Iran and at sites such as Zincirli, Nimrud and Ur, although unlike those examples, it is oval-shaped. Also by contrast to other examples, this coffin is simple and without any ornamentation or additional decorative features. The remains of textiles in the coffin are similar to the Ur and Arjān examples.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Curtis 1983; Mo'taghd 1990.



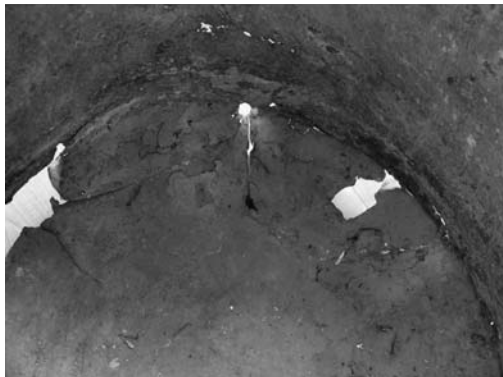


Fig. 9. Riveted pieces of the coffin.



Fig. 10. Top: The simple decorations of the coffin's edges; Bottom: The remnants of the textile on the outer surface of the coffin.

Due to the unclear archaeological context of this coffin, we cannot conclusively discuss its dating; thus, only the typology comparisons are relevant to our discussion. As already mentioned, the coffin is made of bronze with simple, overhanging edges, like the Achaemenian coffins in Susa; its vertical handles are more like the riveted vertical handles of the bronze coffins from Arjān, Dailamān and Ur. However, these few similarities are not enough to determine an exact date. Based on its features, it can only be said that the coffin may date back to the late eighth to early sixth centuries BC and belong to the Median regional context.

According to the current examples, two types of bronze coffins existed in the Ancient Near East:<sup>5</sup> 1. Coffins with one straight-sided end and the other end rounded (Ur, Zincirli, Nimrud, Dailamān, Arjān and Jubaji), and 2. Oval-shaped coffins (Susa, Lidar Huyuk, Choubtarāsh and Qareh Dāneh).

<sup>5</sup> See Stein 2014.

## Conclusion

Although the discovery of another bronze coffin in the west of Iran is a significant cultural event, due to its unclear archaeological context, more precise discussions about its dating and, particularly, to which people or culture it belonged are problematic. These difficulties are the reason that only the general features of these objects, especially their metalworking techniques and artistic value and importance, are being discussed and investigated. In general, based on the coffin's features and the little available information, the object of this study is probably a coffin related to the Median period in the west of Iran. Despite the lack of information regarding these kinds of finds, it seems likely that the coffin belonged to one of the princes, local kings or social and political dignitaries who were buried inside tombs. Up until now, finds have come only from the western part of Iran, from Dailaman in the north to Behbahan in the south. Thus, if our hypothesis is correct, there has been the body of a prince, a king or maybe a dignitary inside the Kouzarān (Sarāb-e Qareh Dāneh) bronze coffin which there is no more information available about it.

According to John Curtis, the bronze coffins are neo-Assyrian artefacts and were manufactured in an Assyrian workshop.<sup>6</sup> In that case, the bronze coffin discovered at Kouzarān (Sarāb-e Qareh Dāneh) is further evidence of the relationship between the western regions of Iran and Assyria. If we consider this object an original Assyrian item, it seems plausible also to assume Assyrian domination over the region (some parts of the west and the capital of today's Kermānshāh) from the time of Tiglath-Pileser III until the end of Sargon II's reign, given that there were close relationships between this region (the land of Harhar, an Assyrian province) and Assyria.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Curtis, 1983; 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Levine 1972, p. 32; 1974; 1975, p. 120; 1987; 1990, p. 258; Diakonoff 1991, p. 16; Frame 2006, p. 58; 2013, p. 439.

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# A New Iron Age Chamber Tomb near Çatak, South of Van Lake

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Sabahattin ERDOĞAN and Bülent GENÇ

## Abstract

*Our knowledge of the period preceding the Kingdom of Urartu, which was established in the mid-ninth century BC with Van as its centre, is quite limited. From Assyrian sources from the reign of Shalmaneser I on, we learn about communities living on the high plateaus of Eastern Anatolia. However, archaeological research in the region has provided little information. This period, known as “pre-Urartian” in the Lake Van basin, is evaluated here in the light of data from the Ernis, Karagündüz, Dilkaya, and Yoncatepe necropolises. Archaeological research in Lake Van basin indicates a tradition of chamber tombs. The latest example of an underground chamber tomb built of stones is the Çatak chamber tomb. The burials in the tomb bear anthropological features suggesting that the buried individuals belonged to the same family, and they provide new data on grave goods and burial practices. In addition, it can be argued that the social structure hypothesised in relation to burials to the north and east of the lake can also be applied to burials south of Lake Van.\**

**Keywords:** Eastern Anatolia, Early Iron Age, Van, Chamber Tomb, Çatak, Urartian

## Introduction

On 26 June 2012, a chamber tomb was discovered during roadworks on the Van-Çatak highway near the Değirmen locality of Akçabük village, 5 km from the town of Çatak in the province of Van (Fig. 1.a, b). The authorities at Van Museum were informed, and the next day a rescue excavation commenced to recover the tomb’s contents. The chamber tomb was located on a mountain slope beside the highway and built from local stones. Once it had been revealed by removing one of the covering stones, the tomb appeared to have been damaged by mudslides caused by run-off water and erosion of the mountain slope. Human skeletons, pottery and other burial finds were recovered from this mud layer (Fig. 2a). A number of pottery vessels, a bronze bracelet, a bronze ring and three beads were found in the chamber tomb and handed over to Van Museum. The human remains were sent to the anthropology department of Yüzüncü Yıl University, Van, for further investigation.<sup>1</sup> Before evaluating the Çatak chamber tomb and associated burial goods, a description of the pre-Urartian period in the region will permit a better understanding of the Çatak chamber tomb and its architecture, finds, and burial traditions.

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<sup>1</sup> Yılmaz *et al.* 2014.



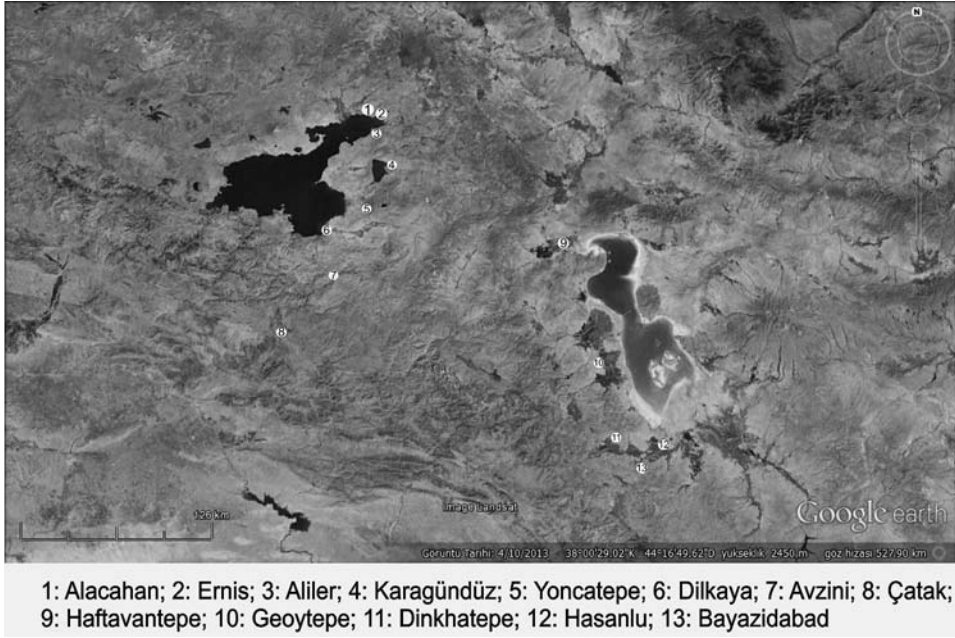


Fig. 1a. Van Lake and its environs major Early Iron Ages Necropolies and Settlements

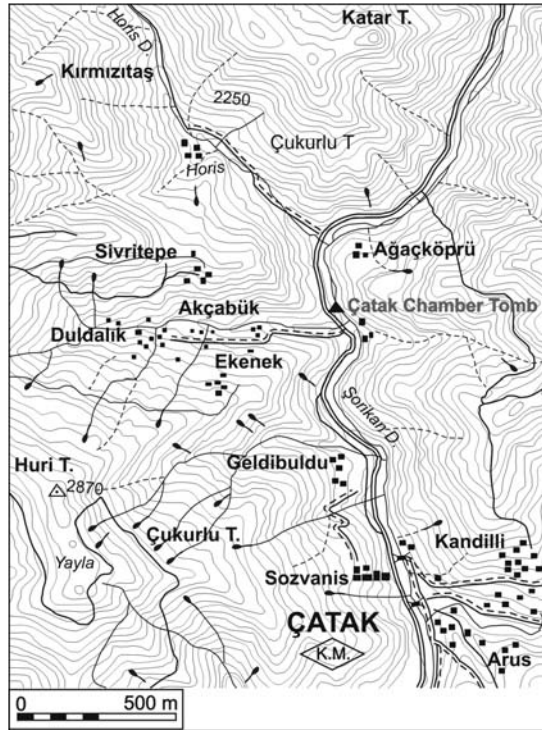


Fig. 1b. Çatak chamber tomb and topographical map of its surrounding





Fig. 2a. The burials and potteries found at chamber tomb



Fig. 2b. The dromos entrance to the east of chamber tomb

## Pre-Urartian Period in the Lake Van Basin

Archaeological research in the Lake Van basin has focussed on the fortresses established in locations that dominated the plains in the period during which the Urartian Kingdom ruled the region. This period corresponds approximately to the second half of the ninth century BC to the end of the seventh century BC, and while it is labelled the Middle Iron Age in the region, it is subdivided into Early Iron Age / pre-Urartian and Late Iron Age / post-Urartian periods.<sup>2</sup> In summary, because the period of the Urartian Kingdom in the Iron Age can be defined precisely from both linguistic and archaeological data, it emerges as the main phenomenon used to define Iron Age chronology in the region. At the same time, archaeological evidence that allows us to identify the pre-Urartian period is poor. For this reason, the identification of the pre-Urartian period in the region has only been attempted through archaeological material from stratified settlements and necropolises in Elazığ-Malatya, Southern Caucasia and Northwest Iran.<sup>3</sup>

There are four excavated necropolises associated with the Early Iron Age in the Van region: Ernis, Dilkaya, Karagündüz, and Yoncatepe.<sup>4</sup> While the north and east of the Lake Van basin, where these necropolises are located, are better investigated archaeologically, the mountainous southern part of the basin, in which the Çatak chamber tomb is located, is not well known. As a result of surveys conducted in and around Çatak, a large house<sup>5</sup> and a chamber tomb,<sup>6</sup> to its south, were found in the vicinity of Avzini. In this context, the Çatak chamber tomb, identified together with its *in situ* finds in the southern part of the Lake Van basin, takes on a new significance. In this article, first the Çatak chamber tomb and its finds will be evaluated. The tomb will then be compared to the chamber tombs and burial finds in necropolises identified through excavations, such as Yoncatepe, Karagündüz, Ernis, and Dilkaya. Thus it will be possible to identify whether the Çatak tomb has cultural properties that are similar to or different from necropolises associated with the pre-Urartian period. The question of which period the Çatak chamber tomb represents will also be addressed in the light of discussions on the chronology of the Iron Age in the region.

## The Çatak Chamber Tomb

### Architecture

The chamber tomb was discovered during the construction of the Van-Çatak highway and is a dromos-type chamber tomb oriented in the east–west direction. It was built in a pit dug into the ground, using unworked limestone and sandstone blocks that are mostly rectangular or

<sup>2</sup> Köroğlu-Konyar 2008, p. 125; Çevik 2008, p. 2; Khatchadourian 2011, pp. 474–476; Sagona 2012, pp. 254–255.

<sup>3</sup> Çevik 2008.

<sup>4</sup> Sevin 1987, pp. 36–43; 1996; 2005, pp. 358–362; Belli-Konyar 2003a, pp. 107–112; 2003b (Ernis); Çilingiroğlu 1991 (Dilkaya); Sevin-Kavaklı 1996a; 1996b, Sevin 2005, pp. 362–373; Sevin 2004, pp. 185–188 (Karagündüz); Belli-Konyar 2001; 2003a (Yoncatepe).

<sup>5</sup> Tarhan and Sevin 1977, pp. 350–352, fig. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Sevin 1987, p. 42, fig. 7.

square in shape. The entrance to the tomb is through the dromos in the east (Fig. 2/b).<sup>7</sup> The side walls are built of stones, the dromos is 60 cm deep and close to a square in plan, with dimensions of 50–70 × 65 cm. It was covered with a stone, placed vertically. However, the precise plan of the dromos was not determined, since the dromos pit was not exposed. The chamber tomb is 30 cm lower than the dromos, and is accessed by a single step. Similar chamber tombs, accessed via steps, were also found in the necropolises of Ernis, Alacahan, Karagündüz, Yoncatepe and Dilkaya.<sup>8</sup> With a rectangular plan that widens beyond the entrance, the chamber tomb is 1.1–1.6 m wide, 3.5–3.6 m long and 1.65 m high (Figs 3a, b; 4).

The side walls of the irregular-plan chamber were corbelled and the width of the ceiling was thus reduced by as much as 70 cm. The tomb was covered on top with three large stones, the longest of which was 1.90 m. On the north wall of the chamber and 75 cm above the floor, a stone shelf with dimensions of 0.35–0.55 × 2.20 m was found. This shelf consists of the parts of the four stone slabs in the north wall that protrude into the tomb chamber. This architectural design, with a stone shelf functioning as a *kline* or bench, is the most prominent feature of the tomb. It distinguishes it from other examples of chamber tombs found in the Lake Van basin, since stone benches (*seki*)—often seen in Urartian rock tombs—were not found in tomb chambers built of stone.<sup>9</sup> With its *in situ* burial, and being the first of its kind, this phenomenon provides clues about the origin of benches that were found in rock tombs.

Two cavities with irregular triangular forms, located on the western wall of the chamber tomb, 1.3 m high and measuring 27 × 30 cm and 29 × 33 cm respectively, were used as niches (Fig. 5a). While there were no finds in the cavity to the south, a bowl was found *in situ* in the cavity to the north (Fig. 5b). The two niches are noteworthy. While at first glance they do not appear to be niches at all, they are identified as such by the *in situ* find, also seen in Early Iron Age and Urartian chamber tombs, although in the former they are rare. While niches were often constructed in the long side walls—as, for example, in the long southern wall in the Karagündüz KI tomb<sup>10</sup>—they were on the short walls of the tombs in Aliler 5 and Kaletepe II.<sup>11</sup> The *in situ* bowl found in one of the niches at the Çatak chamber tomb provides clues about the functions of these niches.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> During the road works, the access to the chamber tomb was gained via the top by removing one of the large cover stones rather than via the dromos.

<sup>8</sup> Sevin 1987, pp. 40–41; 2005, p. 365; Sevin-Kavaklı 1996a, p. 15; Belli-Konyar 2001, p. 187; Çilingiroğlu 1991, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Stone benches (*seki*) were used in many underground rock tombs as an interior feature of the Urartian tomb architecture: Ögün 1978, pp. 664–665; Sevin 1987, p. 46; Çevik 2000, pp. 9, 42–43; Çavuşoğlu-Biber 2005, pp. 17–28; Sevin 2012, p. 114. It has been stated that benches (*seki*) were not used in chamber tombs prior to the Urartian period (Sevin 2012, p. 124).

<sup>10</sup> Sevin 2005, p. 365.

<sup>11</sup> Sevin 2005, pp. 374–375, fig. 16 (Aliler 5); Belli-Konyar 2003a, p. 82, Çiz. 60, fig. 45 (Kaletepe II).

<sup>12</sup> The niches built into chamber tombs are one of the prominent features of Urartian chamber tomb architecture (Sevin 2012, p. 114). There are niches into which urns were placed in the tombs associated with Urartians at Kamışlı, Tanıktepe and Aluntepe (Derin 1993, p. 104).



Fig. 3a. Local stone blocks used at chamber tomb and stone bench on the north wall



Fig. 3b. The view of the stone bench on the north wall of chamber tomb

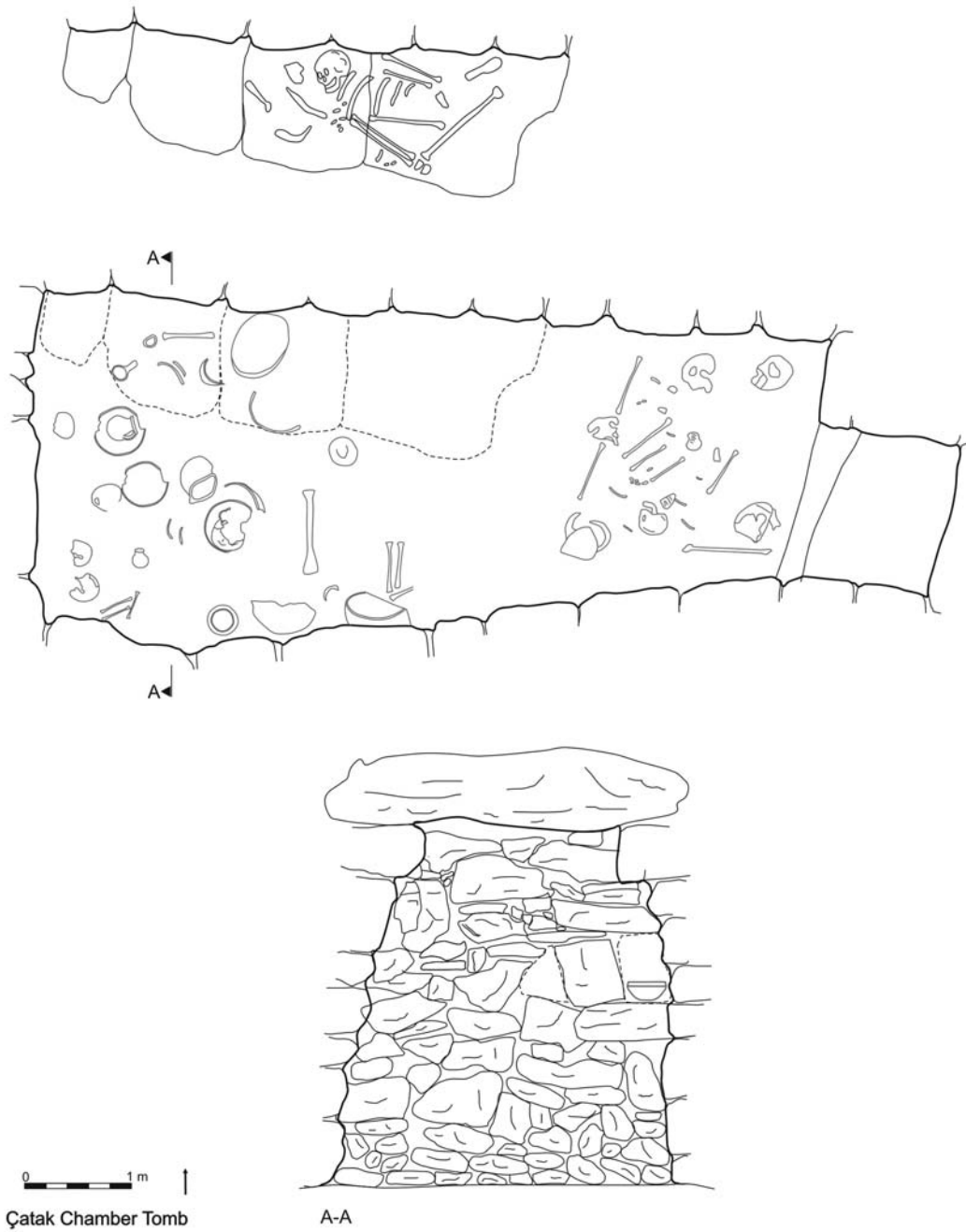


Fig. 4. The plan and cross sections of chamber tomb





Fig. 5a. Cavities in the west wall and used as niches



Fig. 5b. Wall cavity and in situ bowl found on it

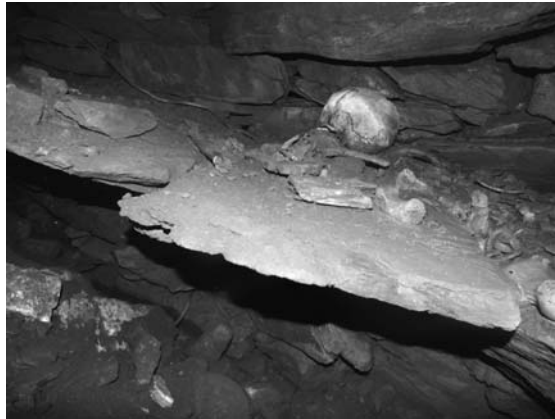


Fig. 5c. A burial layed on the stone bench



## Burials

Remains of 18 individuals were recovered at the multiple-burial Çatak chamber tomb. Anthropological studies suggest that the remains belonged to nine males, seven females and two adolescents between the ages of 10 and 15.<sup>13</sup> Physical similarities in the eye sockets of all of these individuals indicate they were related and the tomb was used as a family grave.<sup>14</sup> As often seen in the Iron Age necropolises in the Lake Van basin, skeletons concentrated at the back of the chamber tomb were intermingled with the other finds. Due to the erosion caused by the location of the tomb, the burials were found in a mud layer on the floor; therefore, their original position could not be determined. The burial goods, consisting mostly of pottery, were mixed with the burials. However, one *in situ* skeleton was found lying in extended position on the stone shelf/*kline* (Fig. 5/c). It has been suggested that this could have been the last body to be buried in this tomb.<sup>15</sup> If this is the case, the burial style at the Çatak chamber tomb seems quite different from the style usually seen in Iron Age chamber tombs in the Lake Van basin, where the bodies of individuals who died earlier were pushed to the back and the last body was left at the entrance of the tomb in hocker position.<sup>16</sup> At Çatak, the later burial must have been placed on the shelf after an earlier burial was removed from it. Through continuous use, the chamber tomb became more functional in the burial activities. All the burials contained skeletons, and there were no traces of cremation.<sup>17</sup> There was no evidence of foodstuffs in the bowls, as found in other Early Iron Age tombs in this region,<sup>18</sup> because the skeletons and other finds were mixed together due to erosion. There were also no finds inside the bowl found *in situ* in the niche in the western wall of the tomb.

## Pottery

A total of 72 pottery objects were found in the Çatak chamber tomb. When ware groups and form characteristics are considered, red-brown wares make up the majority (Figs 6–24; Table 1). The other ware groups include a small number of pink-buff-coloured wares (Figs 25–30) and a limited number of red slipped wares (Figs 31–32). The surface colours of self-slipped red-brown and pink-buff wares were generally mottled due to firing. These surface colours indicate that they were medium- or under-fired. While there are unburnished samples, the pottery is more often

<sup>13</sup> Yılmaz *et al.* 2014, p. 1329.

<sup>14</sup> Dr Hakan Yılmaz (Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Literature, Yüzüncü Yıl University, Van, Turkey) argues that epigenetic characteristics seen in the bones of individuals uncovered in the Çatak chamber tomb suggest the individuals may have been related. He points out that the form and position of lacrimal fossa in particular presents strong evidence for this argument.

<sup>15</sup> We thank Assistant Prof. Ceyhan Suvari (Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Literature, Yüzüncü Yıl University, Van, Turkey) for examining the human remains and sharing his views.

<sup>16</sup> Sevin and Kavaklı 1996a, p. 6; 1996b, pp. 23–24; Sevin 2012, p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> While there were reports of no cremations in burials in K2, K6/7 and K4 chamber tombs in Karagündüz (Sevin 2005, pp. 363–364), it was mentioned that there were children cremated and buried in K8 chamber tomb.

<sup>18</sup> Animal bones, found in bowls and described as a meal for the burials, have been discovered in the necropolises of Karagündüz and Yoncatepe (Sevin and Kavaklı 1996b, p. 25; Belli-Konyar 2001, pp. 194–195; Sevin 2012, p. 120).

lightly burnished. We came across red slip only in three bowls, where the slip was not applied to the entire vessel but instead can be observed in places on the surface.

Almost all the vessels recovered are complete, and bowls (48) form the great majority (Table 2). Sharp carination on the shoulders or bodies is the prominent feature of the bowls (Figs 7.3–5; 8.1–4; 9.1–4; 10.1–4; 11.2, 4; 12.1–5; 13.1–4; 25.1–4, 26.1–3; 27.1–3; 31.2–3). A small number have round or spherical bodies (Figs 6.1–5; 7.1–2; 11.1, 3). The bowls usually have simple rims, but there are also several with thickened or everted rims. The sharpness seen in the body is also evident inside the vessel, as well as on the rim. Grooves, handles and incised decorations are detail features of the bowls. The grooves appear on the rim (Fig. 13.3), in several rows on the exterior surface, usually between the rim and the shoulder carination (Figs 9.4; 13.1; 25.3), or, in one example, on the interior of the vessel (Fig. 25.4). The handles either contain no holes or they have horizontal string holes (Figs 7.3–4; 9.3–4; 13.1; 25.2–3; 26.2–3; 27.1, 3; 31.3). Incised decoration, seen only in two samples, consists of diagonal lines facing one another (Fig. 13.3), giving a triangular appearance (Fig. 26.1).

The remaining vessels consist of pots (19), jugs (4) and a vase. The pots form the second main group. They all have short necks and simple rims (Figs 15–22).<sup>19</sup> The details on the pots include grooves on the interior,<sup>20</sup> or, in a few examples, the exterior (Fig. 18.2), and incised triangular decorations (Fig. 20.1–2). Apart from these features, the frequent use of handles is notable (Figs 17.1; 18.1; 20.1–4; 22.1–3). Incised decoration in the form of nested triangles appears between the neck and swollen body. A notch decoration on vertical handles also appears, running from the rim down to the body (Fig. 20.1–2). The majority of pots have an irregular form, indicating they were handmade (Figs 15–16).

Jugs make up the third group of ceramics uncovered from the Çatak chamber tomb, and consist of long-necked, short-necked and neckless shapes (Figs 23.1–3; 29.2). A neckless jug with a relatively large rim twisted lightly to form the pouring lip does quite not fit into this pottery type, which usually has a narrow neck and handles (Fig. 23.3). However, a “trefoil jug”, seen particularly in red burnished examples of the Middle Iron Age/Urartian Period and Eastern Anatolian Early Iron Age ceramic groups, was also found (Fig. 29.2). This jug, similar in form to those discovered in both Karagündüz and Ernis tombs,<sup>21</sup> has an incised decoration on its body.

The final form seen at the Çatak chamber tomb is represented by a vase which constitutes the only example of its kind (Fig. 29.1). Distinguished from the jugs by the absence of handles, this vessel is notable for the sharp lines in the shape of its stepped long neck.

<sup>19</sup> Similar forms, described as “S” profile, were commonly used in potteries of Ernis Necropolis (Sevin 1996, p. 442, fig. 4.1–9; 2005, p. 360, fig. 4.6–11).

<sup>20</sup> It has been stated that the grooves seen inside the rims are prominent features of pottery unearthed in Dilkaya Necropolis (Çilingiroğlu 1993, p. 476). This feature has also frequently been seen in the examples from Ernis Necropolis (Sevin 1996, p. 442, fig. 4.8–9, pl. 3.3).

<sup>21</sup> Sevin 1999, p. 163, fig. 8.3–4.

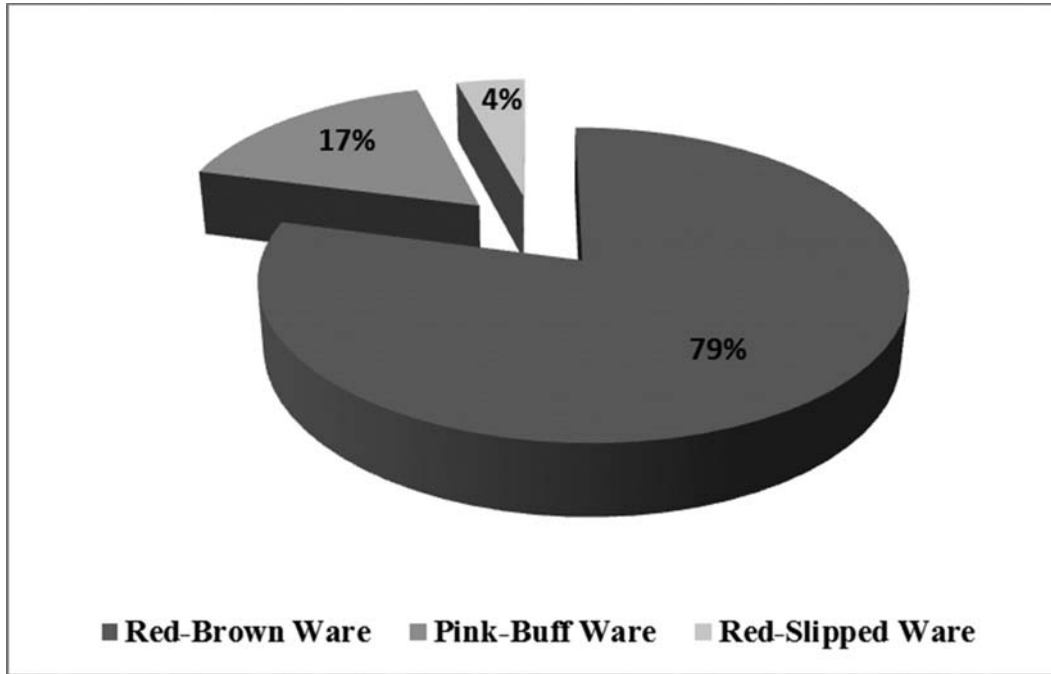


Table 1. Pottery ware groups distribution in the Çatak chamber tomb

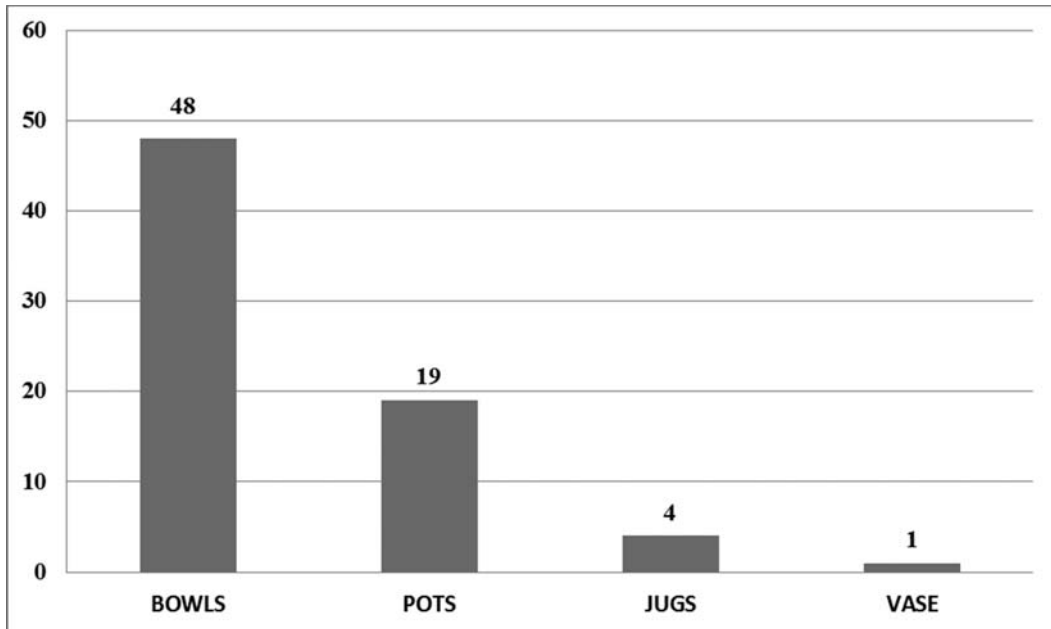


Table 2. Pottery shape distribution in the Çatak chamber tomb

### Small finds

The small finds unearthed from the Çatak chamber tomb are few in number compared to the pottery. They include a bronze bracelet, a ring and three beads, and these collectively make up the burial goods for the burials (Fig. 33a–e). The open bracelet, round in shape, which has snake-heads on both ends, has a smooth interior, while its exterior is formed by ridges. The bronze ring, of a type seen in many chamber tombs dating to the Early Iron Age in Lake Van basin and at Urartian excavations, is simple and round, with ends that overlap each other. Of the three beads found during cleaning, one was agate and the other two were glass. On the body of the light-yellow-coloured glass bead were zigzag lines, probably made by applying a heated metal object with a pointed end. The black bead was given a different appearance by making incisions on its three sides. The holes going through all three beads appear very smooth. There were no objects made of iron amongst the burial goods placed in the tomb.<sup>22</sup>

### Metal analysis

The elemental composition of the two metal items found at the Çatak chamber tomb, determined by X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometry, is given in Table 3.

Item	Fe%	Ni%	Cu%	Zn%	Zr%	Mo%	Pd%	Ag%	Sn%	Sb%	Pt%	Au%	Pb%	Bi%
Bracelet	1,445	0,03	81,5	0,1	ND	0,02	ND	ND	8,993	0,2453	ND	ND	7,5128	ND
Bracelet	1,664	ND	75,8	0,14	ND	0,02	ND	ND	12,69	0,3101	ND	ND	9,1814	ND
Bracelet	1,448	0,03	78,2	0,33	ND	0,02	ND	ND	11,85	0,2756	ND	ND	7,7366	ND
Ring	1,481	ND	69,2	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	28,04	0,5599	ND	ND	0,7316	ND

ND: not detectable

Table 3. Elemental composition of the ring and the ridged bracelet found at the Çatak chamber tomb, as determined by X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometry

The analysis of the ridged bracelet suggested that it was made of an alloy of copper antimony, tin and lead (78.5%, 11.11% and 8.14% respectively).<sup>23</sup> Antimony-containing copper is frequently encountered in the analyses of Urartian artefacts. The level of 0.27% antimony detected at the Çatak chamber tomb is similar to that found in some Urartian bronzes recovered from Toprak-kale, Altıntepe and Patnos.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the percentage of tin detected in the bracelet is similar to that seen in Urartian shields found in excavations at Ayanis fortress.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> It has been reported that there were no gifts made of iron in tomb chambers identified as Group II in Ernis necropolis (Sevin 1987, p. 40).

<sup>23</sup> We thank Assistant Prof. Mahmut Aydın (Department of Archaeology, Batman University, Batman, Turkey) for analysing metal objects and sharing his views.

<sup>24</sup> Hughes *et al.*, 1981, pp. 141–145; As we were unable to conduct detailed analyses on metal objects, our comparative analysis was restricted to Urartian examples. See Nieling 2009, pp. 246–247 for analysis of limited metal objects uncovered in Karagündüz Necropolis.

<sup>25</sup> Ingo *et al.*, 2010, pp. 793–800.

The percentage of tin (Sn) was higher in the ring than in the bracelet. It appears that lead (Pb) was not used in the alloy. The percentages of antimony (Sb) and iron (Fe) indicate that the copper used in the manufacturing of the ring and the bracelet was probably sourced from the same raw material. The fact that lead was not detected in the ring suggests that the ring and the bracelet were cast from different metal ore. This indicates that the ring and the bracelet were not specifically made to place in the tomb, but instead, they were personal items of daily use before they were left there.

## Discussion

Our knowledge of the political and cultural composition of the Lake Van basin prior to the Urartian Kingdom comes from Assyrian texts. From these sources, it appears that the geographic region, known as Uruadri in earlier periods and later as Nairi, was inhabited by semi-nomadic tribes and no political-military unity existed. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence associated with this period, characterised by semi-nomadic and tribal lifestyles in the Lake Van basin, is inadequate. Excavations and surveys have been conducted in the basin with the aim of illuminating the period preceding the Urartian era. The finds, especially in the necropolises of Ernis, Karagündüz, Dilkaya and Yoncatepe, have led to a significant increase in our knowledge of tomb architecture and burial traditions. At this point, the Çatak chamber tomb, which differs from the Urartian-period examples in terms of its contents, can play an important part in chronological discussions by reference to its architecture and the objects it contains.

Tribal necropolises consisting of chamber tombs, identified in both surveys and archaeological excavations in the region, and some citadels reported to be associated with them, are considered to be the most significant archaeological clues to identifying the Early Iron Age in the region.<sup>26</sup> Sevin, who evaluated the relationships between the pre-Urartian period and the Urartian culture through the burial architecture of the necropolis areas in the Lake Van basin and through the typological distinctions between burial finds, established that the Early Iron Age consisted of two distinct periods. He concluded that burials without pink-buff-coloured and incised pottery, iron jewellery and ceremonial weapons, and finally, tombs without dromoi, represented the first phase of the Early Iron Age. In the later, second phase, chamber tombs were planned with a dromos and iron continued to be used, but the number of bronze finds also increased. Also among grave goods, lustrous red burnished pottery—the precursor of the palace wares typical of the Urartian Kingdom—emerged in tombs in the north and east of the Lake Van basin.<sup>27</sup>

Other scholars are sceptical of the archaeological material from necropolises that are considered to represent the pre-Urartian period in the region—such as Ernis, Karagündüz, Yoncatepe, and Dilkaya—and view these places as the products of a provincial culture associated with the Urartian Kingdom.<sup>28</sup> Köroğlu and Konyar argue that the idea that the finds from the necropolises belong to the pre-Urartian period should be approached with doubt, and that the burial finds,

<sup>26</sup> Sevin 2004; 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Sevin 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Köroğlu-Konyar 2008, p. 125. O. W. Muscarella (2006, p. 171) also states that the burials and finds from the Karagündüz necropolis, which are dated to the Early Iron Age by V. Sevin, belong to the Urartian period.

including pottery, belong to communities that lived in rural areas. They base this view on the insufficiency of archaeological evidence to date those necropolises to the Early Iron Age, given the absence of architectural layers that can be associated with that period in mounds and settlements near the necropolises, the presence among the finds of bronze fibulae that become common in the seventh century BC in the region, and the appearance of bowls with grooved rims, a type also found at Urartian centres.<sup>29</sup>

An important point in the chronological debate on the Early Iron Age in the Lake Van basin relates to the pottery labelled “grooved ware”.<sup>30</sup> Handmade pottery with grooved rims identified above the Late Bronze Age levels at Norşuntepe and Korucutepe in the Elazığ-Malatya region has been viewed as an indicator of the Early Iron Age.<sup>31</sup> In parallel to the material identified in salvage excavations in the Keban and Karakaya dam areas, grooved wares were accepted as denoting the beginning of the Iron Age chronology in the Van region. However, the presence of grooved wares was found to have continued in the light of examples from surveys in the region and especially from Ayanis.<sup>32</sup> In the light of these discussions, the interpretation of grooved wares—coming mostly from necropolises and mixed layers at mounds such as Karagündüz, Dilkaya and Van Kalesi in the Van region—as an indicator of the beginning of Early Iron Age is by now problematic.

## Conclusion

The Çatak chamber tomb is an example of a traditional chamber tomb with dromos, a type which appeared from the Pre-Urartian period in the Lake Van basin and continued to be used during the period of the Urartian Kingdom. Although the Çatak tomb was damaged by natural processes (i.e., erosion) due to its location, the tomb architecture and *in situ* burial goods provide us with useful information on burial traditions and tomb architecture in the pre-Urartian period. It is similar to the tombs found in Ernis, Yoncatepe, Dilkaya and Karagündüz in terms of its dromos, building technique, multiple burials and pottery. But in other ways, it is similar to tombs found in the necropolises of the Urartian period. The unique architectural style with stone bench is not seen in other chamber tombs in the region and distinguishes the Çatak chamber tomb from them. However, bench-like architectural furnishing and niches in the Çatak chamber tomb should not only invite direct comparisons with Urartian chamber tombs. It would be better to evaluate these furnishings as primitive applications of styles later known from Urartian chamber tombs. However, the Çatak chamber tomb has other features that are similar to Urartian chamber tombs, especially in terms of finds and burial practices. The tradition of multiple burials was also commonly seen in Urartian tombs. In addition, an example of a trefoil-mouth jug, a characteristic form of Urartian red wares, was found in the Çatak chamber tomb.

<sup>29</sup> Erdem 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Konyar 2005; Erdem 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Winn 1980; Bartl 2001.

<sup>32</sup> Erdem 2009.



As for metal finds, similar ridged bracelets with snake ends are found in Urartian necropolises.<sup>33</sup> Although the Çatak chamber tomb has similarities to Urartian chamber tombs in terms of a dromos entrance, a multiple-burial tradition and the bracelet with snake ends, it should be emphasised that no lustrous red Urartian pottery, known as palace ware, nor any bronze belts, seals, or furniture fittings were encountered in the Çatak chamber tomb.<sup>34</sup>

While its unique tomb architecture, pottery and burial practice are hallmarks of local traditions, the existence of the ridged bronze bracelet and the glass beads in the Çatak chamber tomb suggests interactions with the people of the south Lake Urmia basin.<sup>35</sup> Examples of chamber tomb architecture in which there are multiple burials are known from northwestern Iran;<sup>36</sup> nevertheless, the prevalence of grey pottery and single inhumations in northwestern Iranian necropolises differentiate burial customs there from those in the Lake Van basin.<sup>37</sup>

It is not entirely clear which cultural features indicate the pre-Urartian period outlined above, or of what chronological phases it consists. In the light of uncertainties about the identification of the pre-Urartian period in the Lake Van basin, and ongoing debates on the subject, the Çatak chamber tomb, with its distinctive architectural style, the multiple burial of individuals from the same family and other finds, is an example of the chamber tomb tradition in the Lake Van basin. It is clear that we need further archaeological data from mounds and fortresses in order to address questions of how the foundation phase of the Urartian Kingdom developed in the central region, where the kingdom was established in the Lake Van basin, and the degree of cultural unity or difference in the basin prior to the foundation of the Urartian state.

<sup>33</sup> A bracelet discovered amongst the finds in Melekli Necropole (Barnett 1963, p. 178, fig. 32.7) in Iğdır (a Urartian necropolis) and a bracelet from Diyarbakır Museum are also ridged (San 2007, p. 22, fig. 3). Similar ridged bracelets were found in room 5 of Burned Building II of Hasanlu IVB layer (Rubinson-Marcus 2005, fig. 2/b). This type of bracelet has not been found in the excavated necropolises in Lake Van basin prior to the Urartian period.

<sup>34</sup> Konyar 2011.

<sup>35</sup> Danti 2013, p. 359.

<sup>36</sup> It has been stated that 12 bodies were buried at the Geoytepe tomb (Dyson 1965, p. 196). Another chamber tomb with multiple burials was found south of Naqadeh in Bayazidabad (Khanmohammadi 2012).

<sup>37</sup> Sagona 2012, p. 254.

## POTTERY CATALOGUE

## Red-Brown Ware

Fig. 6

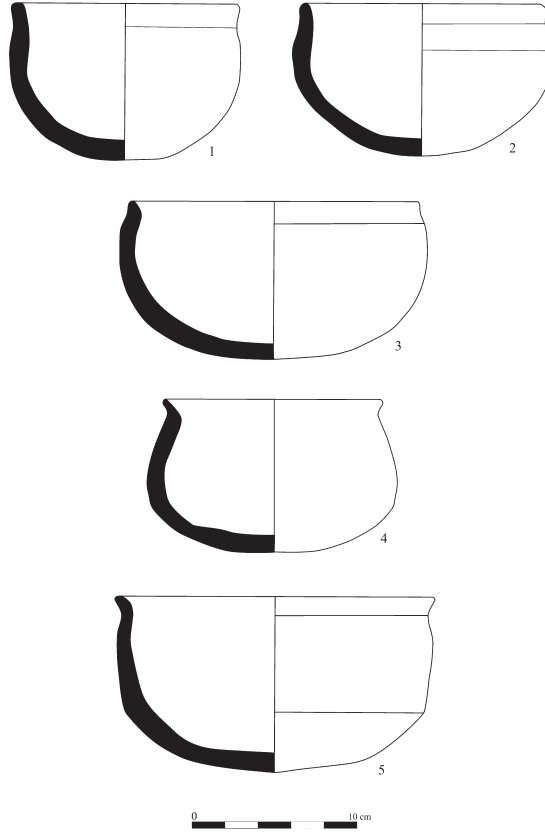


Fig. 6. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Brown paste (5 YR 5/4), self-slipped, black visible, medium sand tempered, under-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 13.5 cm.
- 2- Red paste (10 R 4/4), self-slipped, black visible, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 14.2 cm.
- 3- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, grey mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 17.4 cm.
- 4- Brown paste (5 YR 4/4), self-slipped, black and grey mottled, fine gritty tempered, under-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 7.6 cm.
- 5- Brown paste (5 YR 5/4), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 19 cm.

Fig. 7

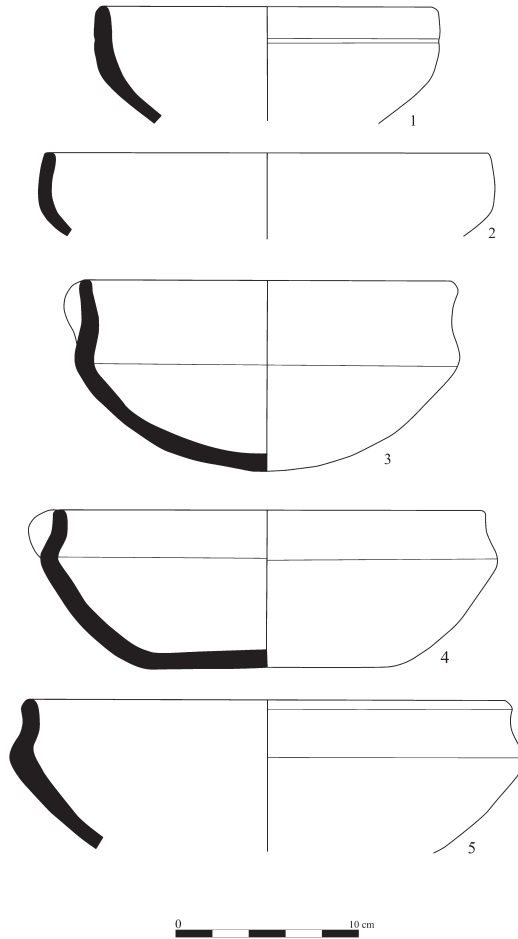


Fig. 7. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 18 cm.
- 2- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, brown and red mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, burnished, handmade, R 24 cm.
- 3- Red paste (10 R 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, wheel-made, R 20 cm.
- 4- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 23 cm.
- 5- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 26 cm.

Fig. 8

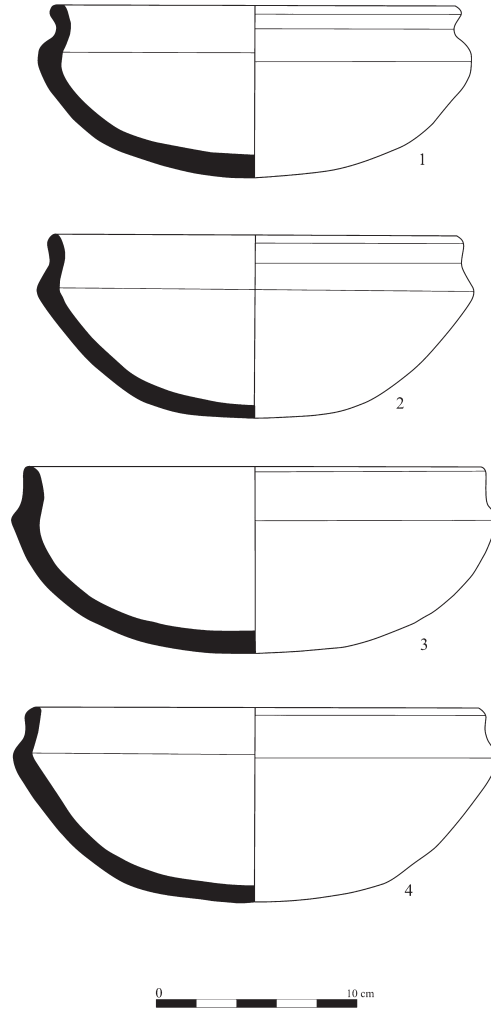


Fig. 8. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 19.8 cm.
- 2- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (interior), wheel-made, R 20 cm.
- 3- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, red visible, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 22.5 cm.
- 4- Red paste (2.5 YR 4/8), self-slipped, grey mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 22 cm.

Fig. 9

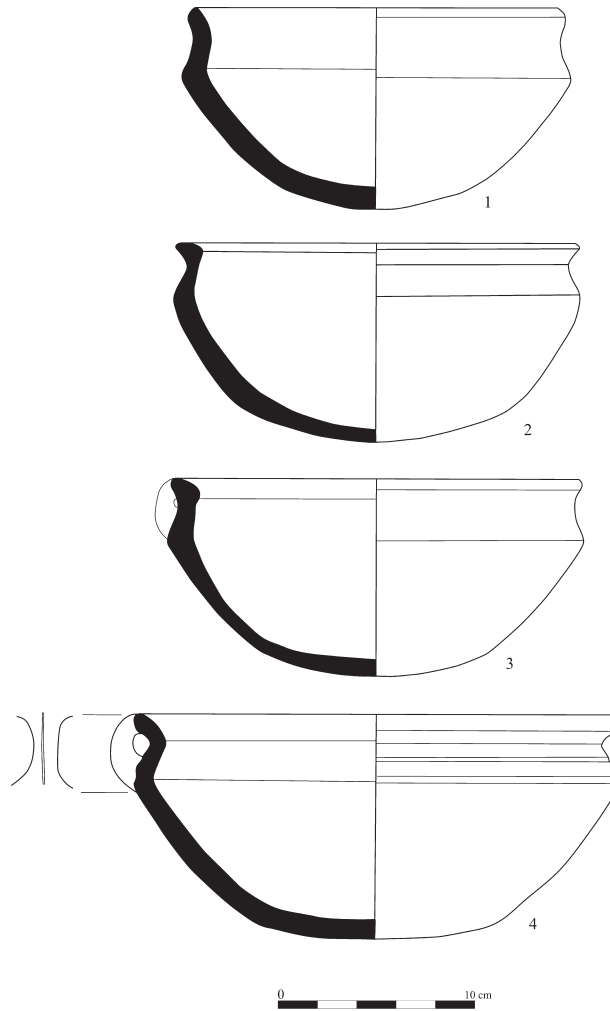


Fig. 9. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, handmade, R 18.4 cm.
- 2- Brown paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 20 cm.
- 3- Red paste (10 R 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand and small pebble tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 20.6 cm.
- 4- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, wheel-made, R 24.2 cm.

Fig. 10

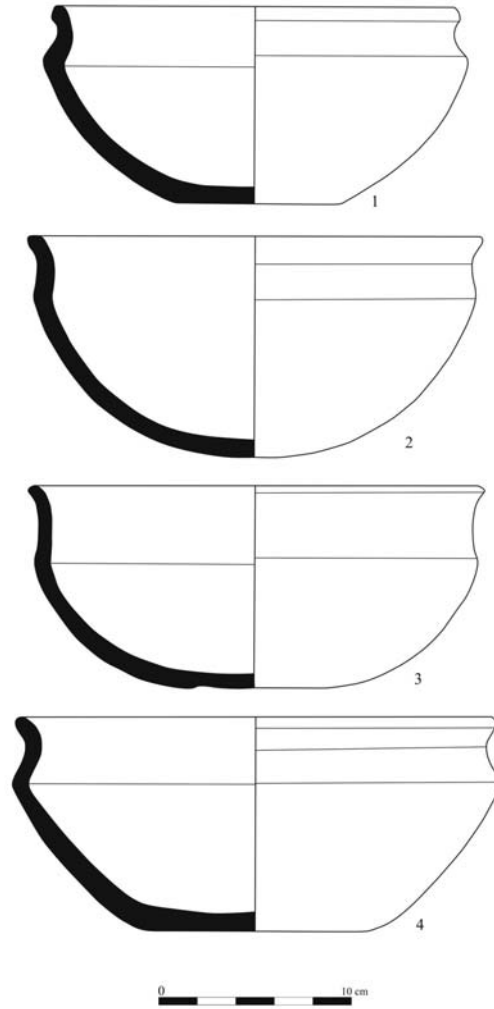


Fig. 10. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Red paste (2.5 YR 4/6), self-slipped, black visible, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 20.6 cm.
- 2- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, black visible, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 23.2 cm.
- 3- Brown paste (5 YR 4/4), self-slipped, black visible, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 23 cm.
- 4- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 24.4 cm.



Fig. II

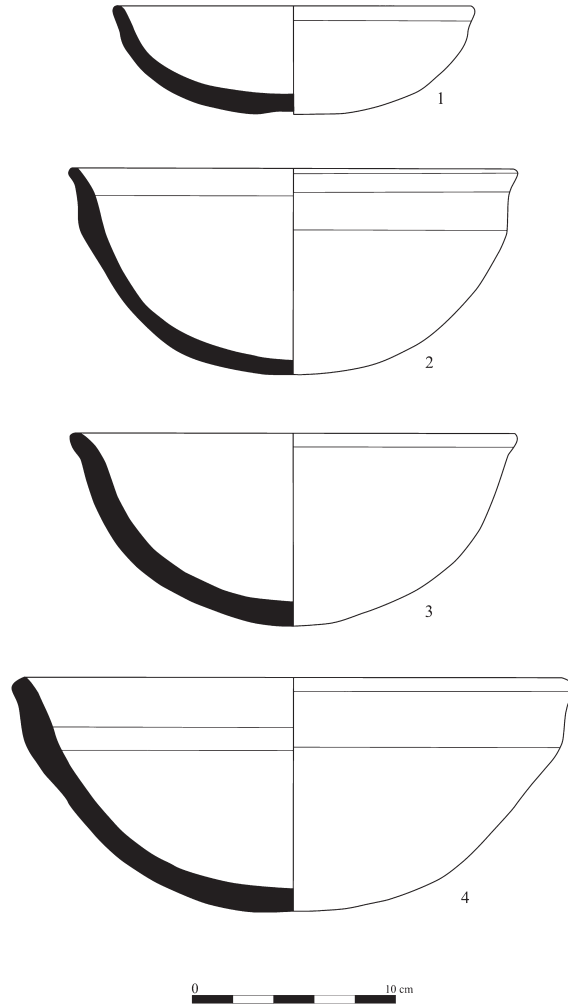


Fig. II. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Brown paste (5 YR 5/4), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, under-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 17.5 cm.
- 2- Brown paste (5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, brown mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 21.6 cm.
- 3- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, red mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 21.6 cm.
- 4- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 26.4 cm.

Fig. 12

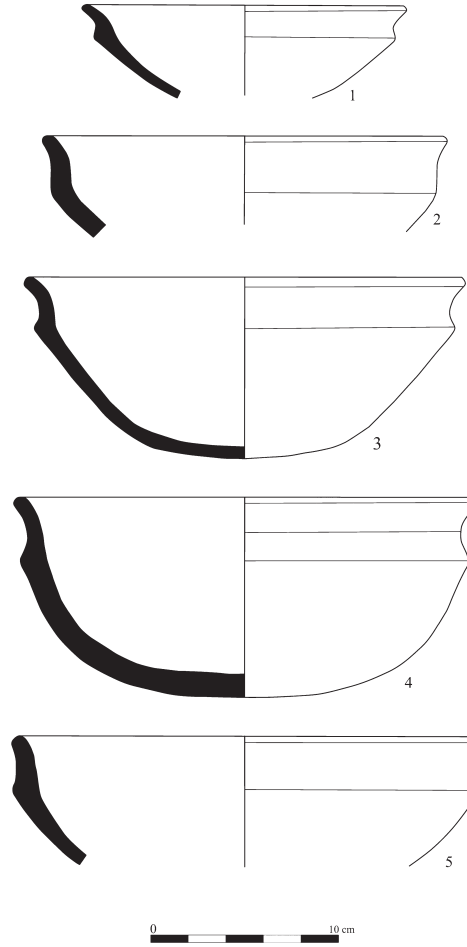


Fig. 12. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Brown paste (5 YR 5/4), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 17 cm.
- 2- Brown paste (5 YR 5/4), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, under-fired, unburnished, handmade, R 21 cm.
- 3- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 23 cm.
- 4- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 24 cm.
- 5- Brown paste (5 YR 4/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, under-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 24 cm.

Fig. 13

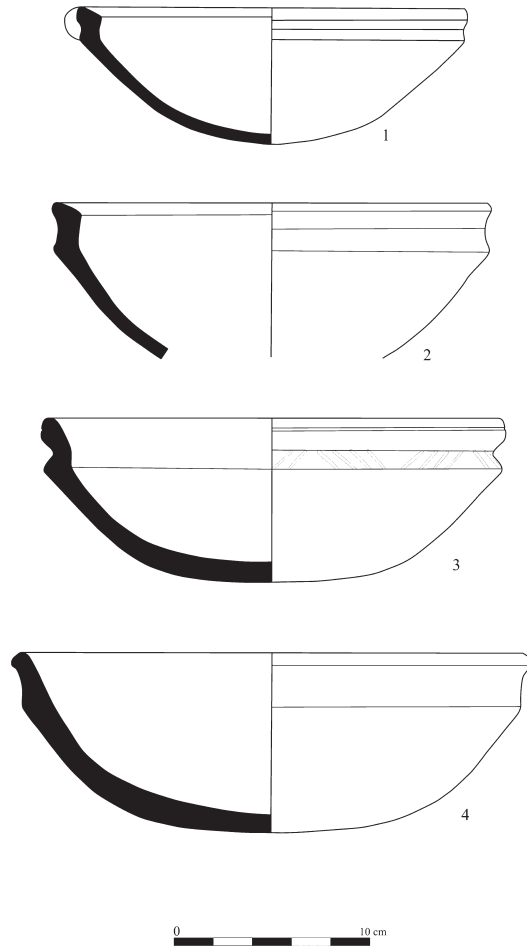


Fig. 13. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, brown visible, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 19.6 cm.
- 2- Brown paste (5 YR 4/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 22 cm.
- 3- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 23 cm.
- 4- Red paste (10 R 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 25.6 cm.



a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h

Fig. 14. Red-Brown Ware Bowls (a-h)

Fig. 15

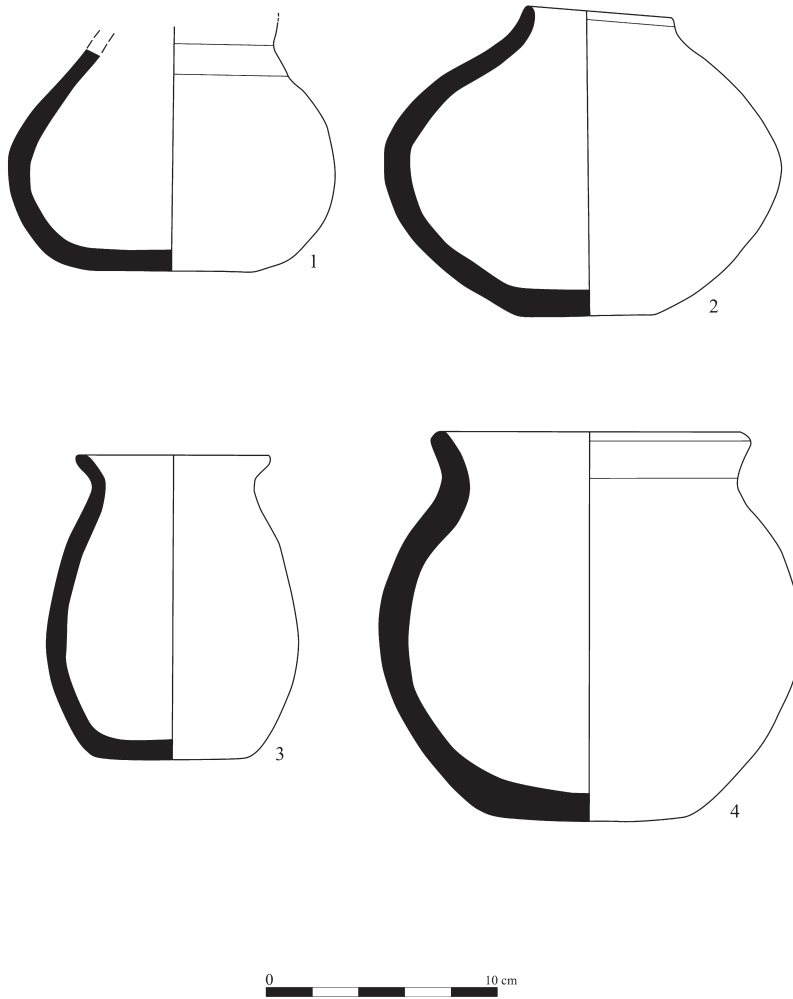


Fig. 15. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 7 cm.
- 2- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 6.3 cm.
- 3- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 8.2 cm.
- 4- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 13 cm.

Fig. 16

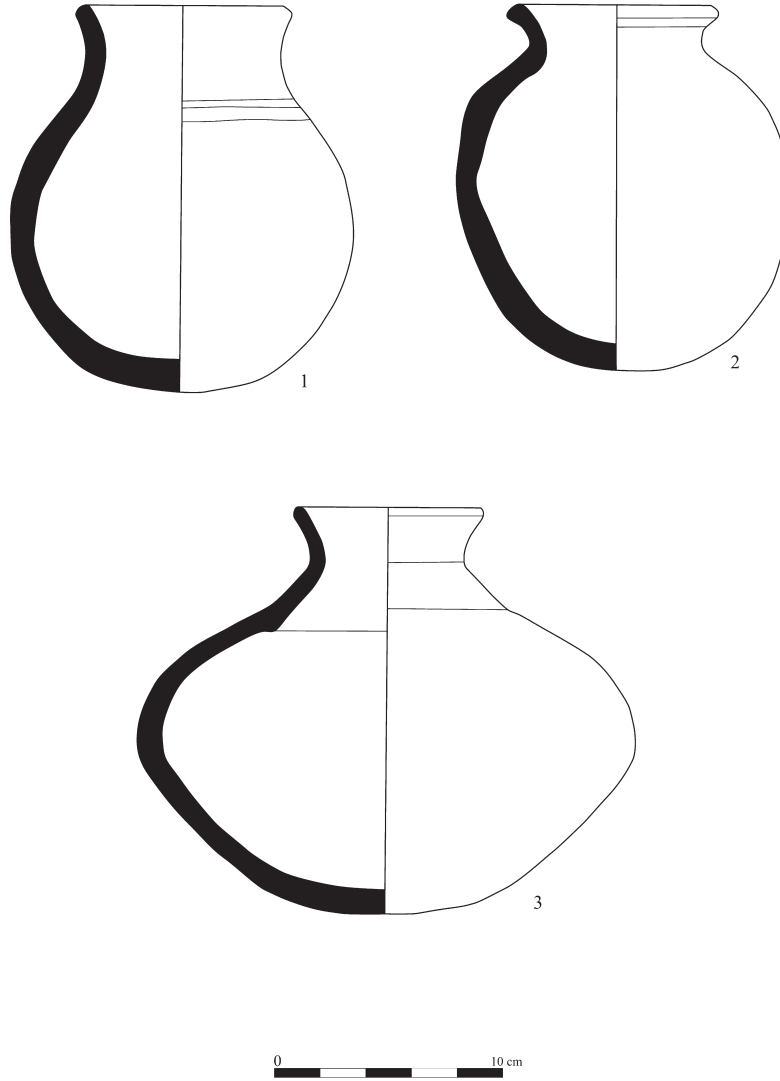


Fig. 16. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, under-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 8.7 cm.
- 2- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 8.4 cm.
- 3- Red paste (10 R 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, handmade, R 8 cm.



Fig. 17

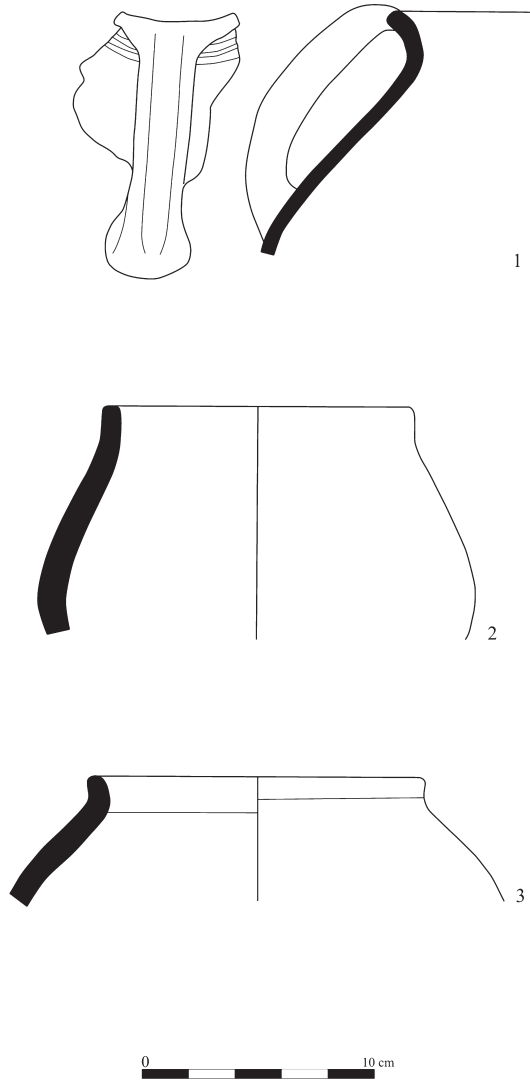


Fig. 17. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Red paste (10 R 4/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made.
- 2- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, under-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 13 cm.
- 3- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, under-fired, slightly burnished (interior), handmade, R 14 cm.

Fig. 18

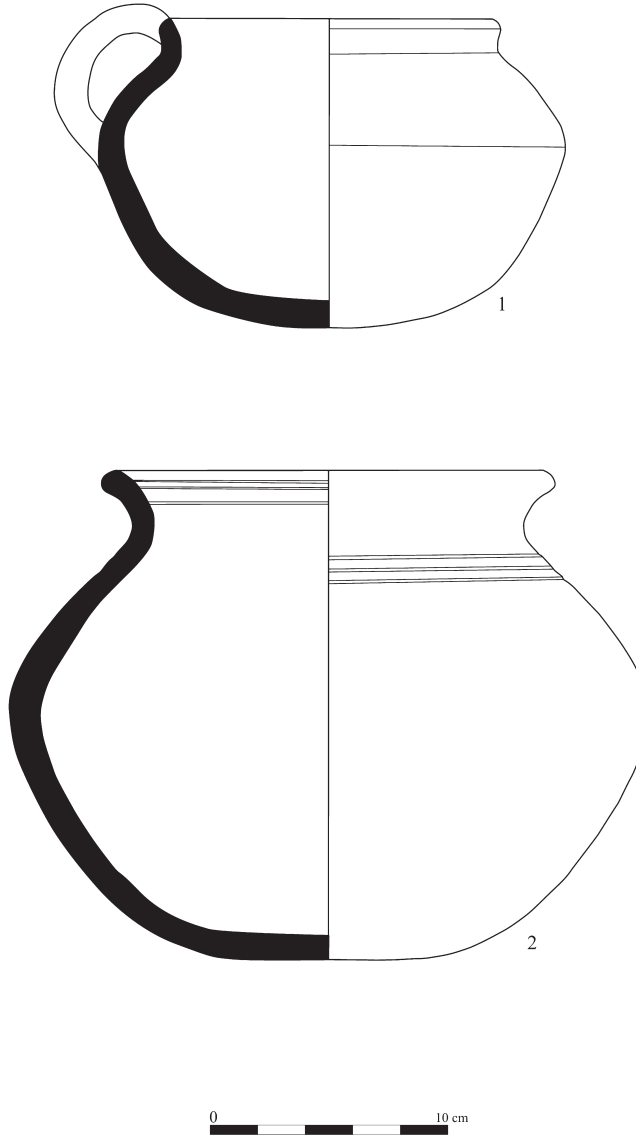


Fig. 18. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Brown paste (5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 13.6 cm.
- 2- Red paste (10 R 5/8), self-slipped, red mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 18 cm.



a



b



c



d

Fig. 19. Red-Brown Ware (a-d)

Fig. 20

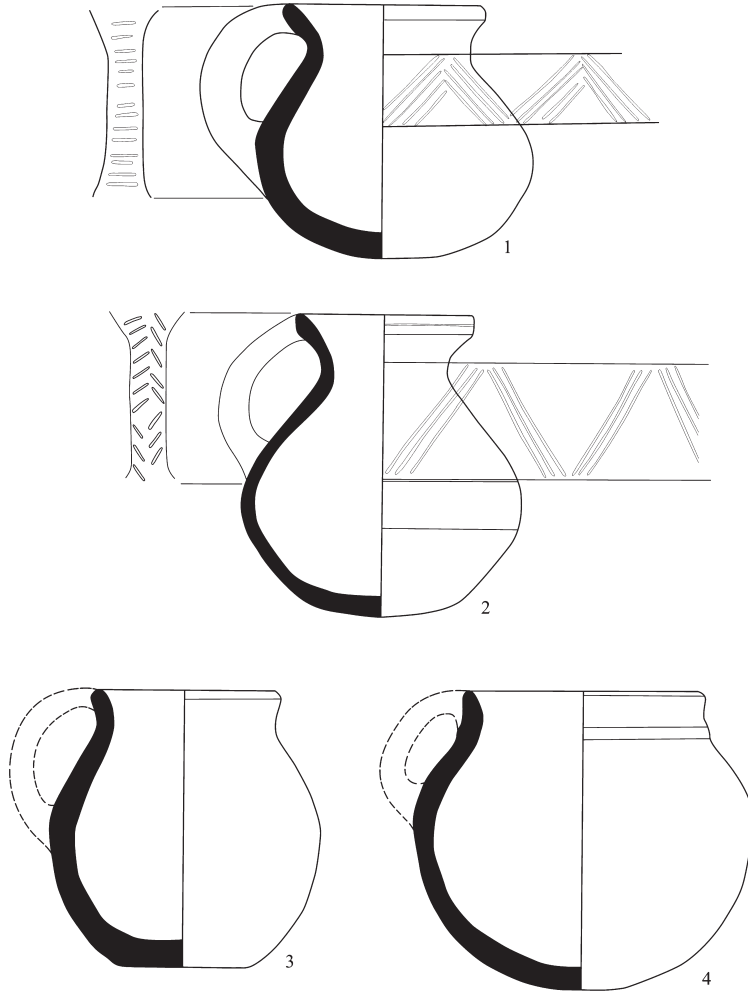


Fig. 20. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 8.8 cm.
- 2- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 7.8 cm.
- 3- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 8 cm.
- 4- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (dışı), handmade, R 10.4 cm.



a



b

Fig. 21. Red-Brown Ware (a-b)

Fig. 22

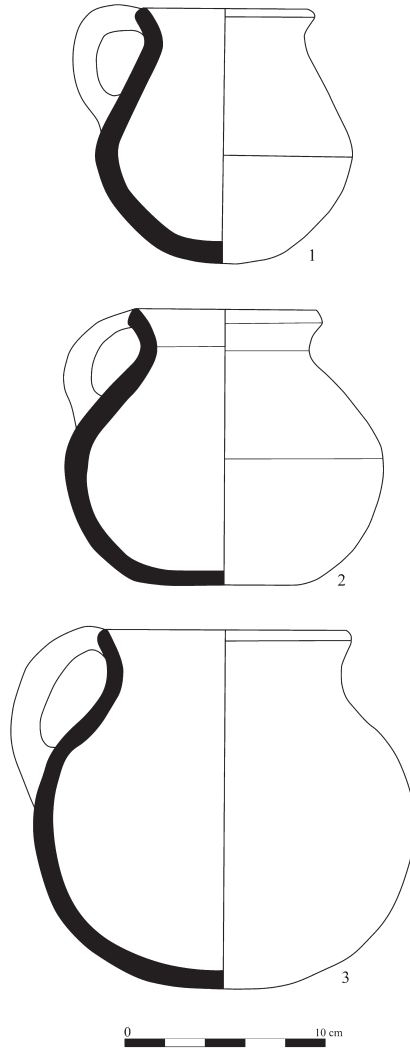


Fig. 22. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 8.2 cm.
- 2- Brown paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 9 cm.
- 3- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 12 cm.



Fig. 23

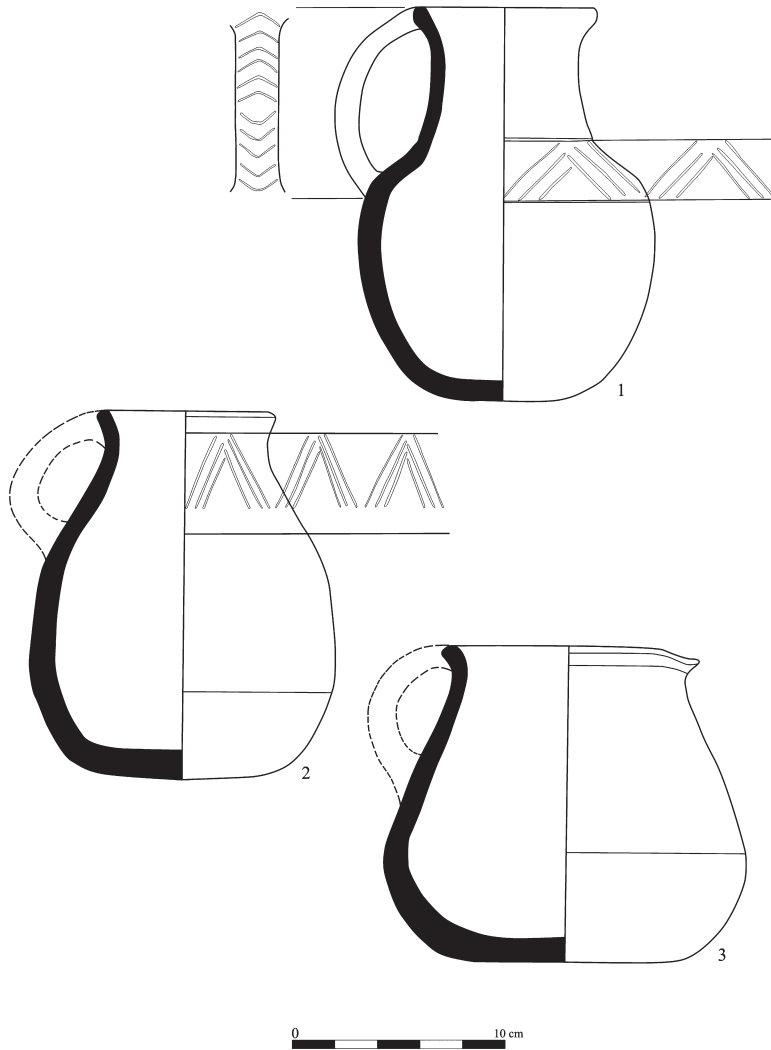
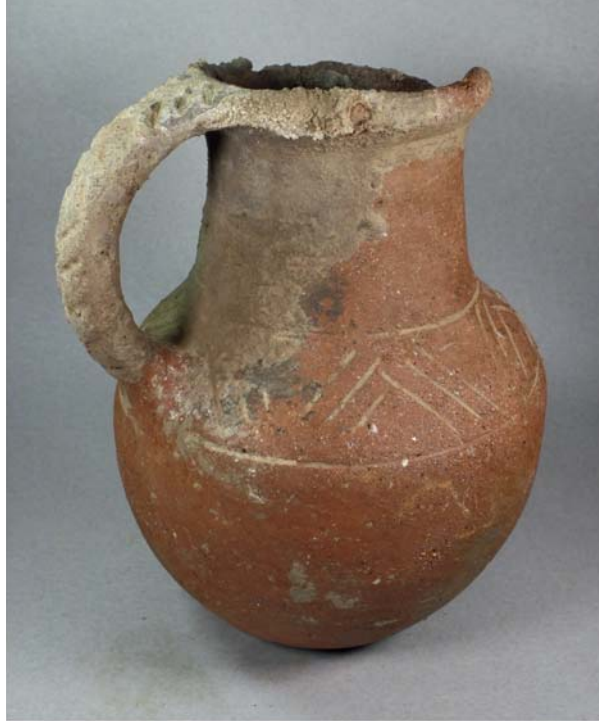


Fig. 23. Red-Brown Ware

- 1- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 8.6 cm.
- 2- Brown paste (5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 7.6 cm.
- 3- Red paste (2.5 YR 5/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 10 cm.



a



b

Fig. 24. Red-Brown Ware (a-b)

## Pink-Buff Ware

Fig. 25

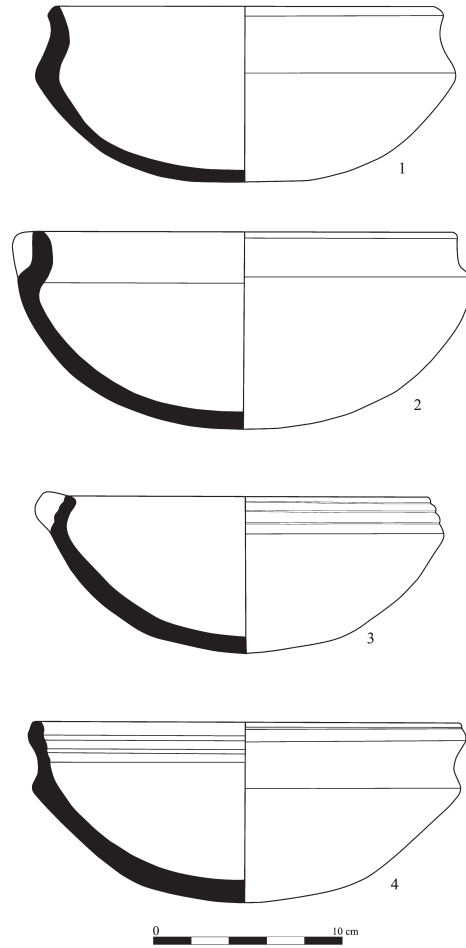


Fig. 25. Pink-Buff Ware

- 1- Pink paste (10 R 6/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, wheel-made, R 20 cm.
- 2- Pink paste (10 R 6/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, wheel-made, R 22 cm.
- 3- Pink paste (10 R 6/8), self-slipped, medium sand and small pebble tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 19 cm.
- 4- Pink paste (2.5 YR 6/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, under-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 22.4 cm.

Fig. 26

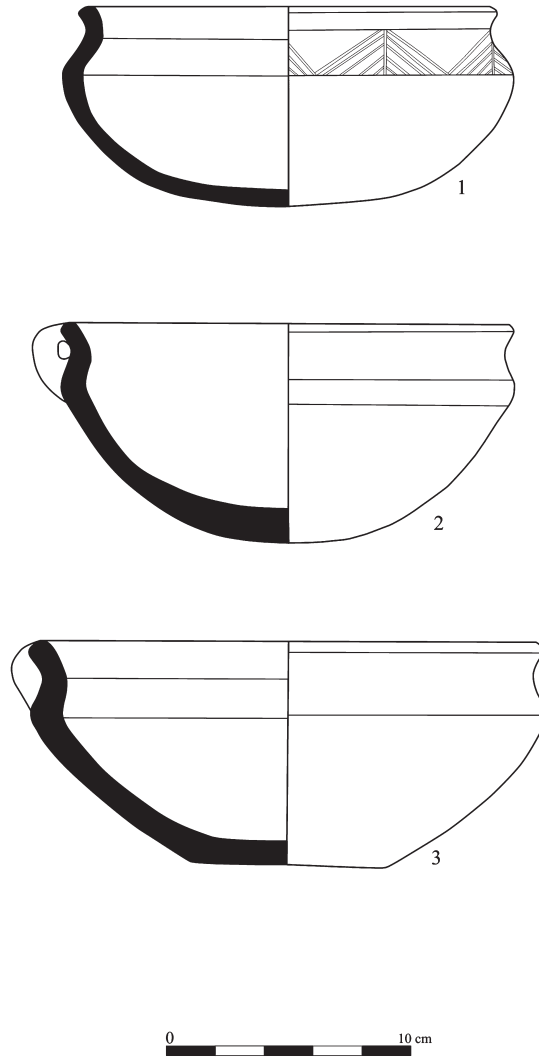


Fig. 26. Pink-Buff Ware

- 1- Pink paste (2.5 YR 6/8), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 16.4 cm.
- 2- Pink paste (10 R 7/8), self-slipped, brown mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, handmade, R 10 cm.
- 3- Pink paste (2.5 YR 6/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, wheel-made, R 20.2 cm.

Fig. 27

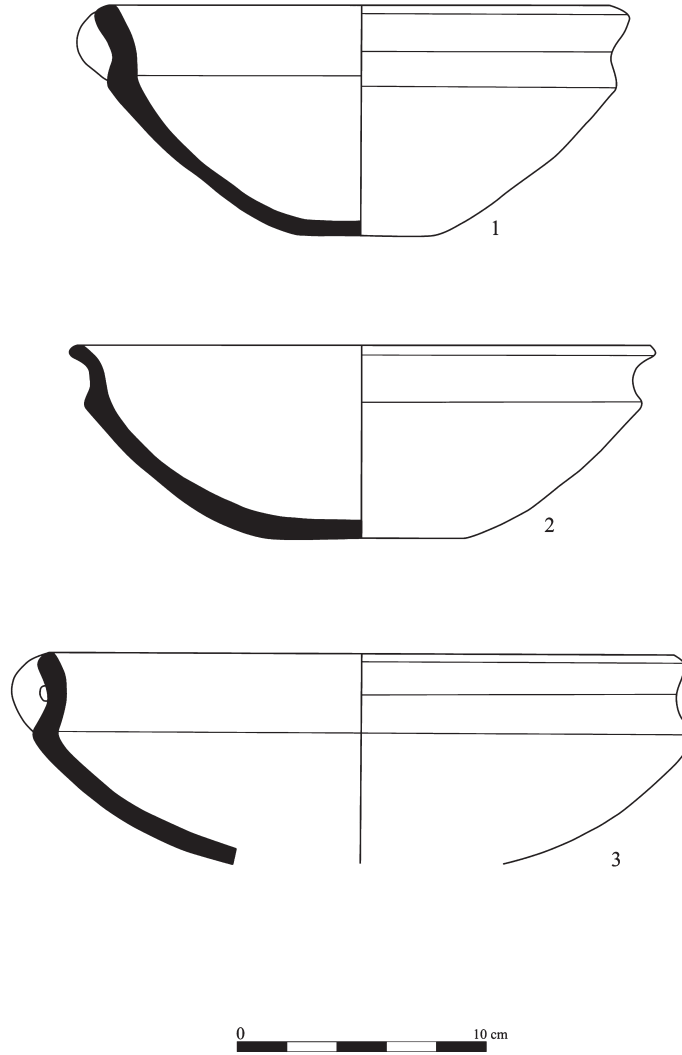


Fig. 27. Pink-Buffer Ware

- 1- Pink paste (2.5 YR 6/8), self-slipped, black mottled, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), wheel-made, R 20.6 cm.
- 2- Pink paste (10 R 6/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, wheel-made, R 19 cm.
- 3- Pink paste (10 R 6/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished, wheel-made, R 19.8 cm.



a



b



c

Fig. 28. Pink-Buff Ware (a-c)



Fig. 29

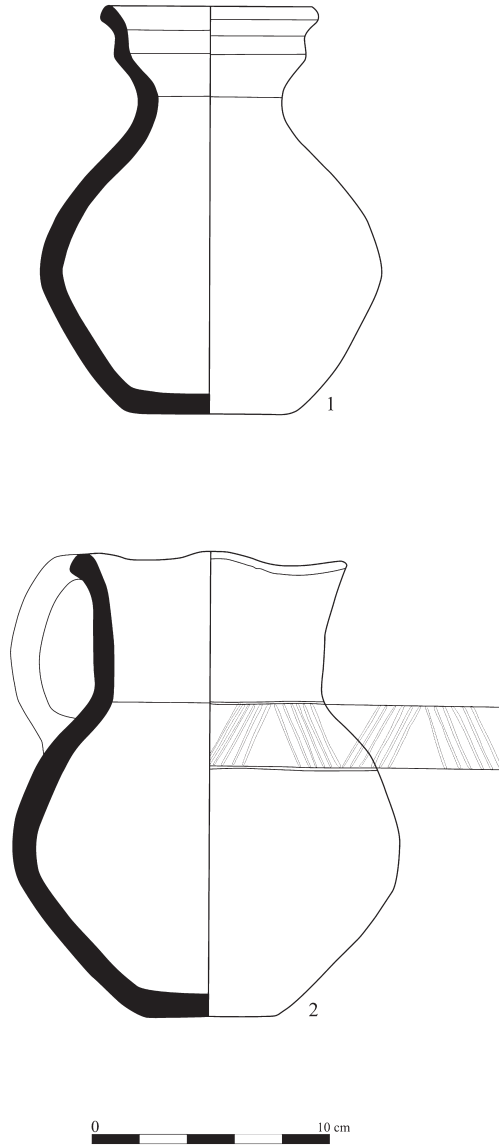


Fig. 29. Pink-Buffer Ware

- 1- Pink paste (2.5 YR 6/8), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, handmade, R 8.6 cm.
- 2- Pink paste (2.5 YR 6/6), self-slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, slightly burnished (exterior), handmade, R 11 cm.



a



b

Fig. 30. Pink-Buff Ware (a-b)

## Red-Slipped Ware

Fig. 31

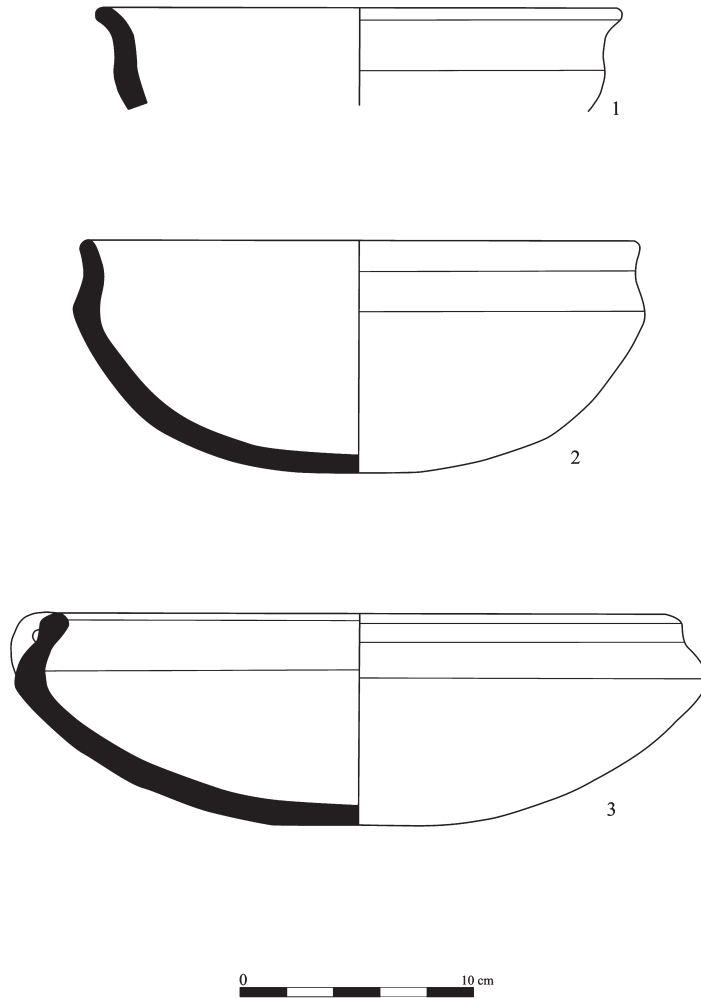


Fig. 31. Red-Slipped Ware

- 1- Red paste (10 R 5/8), red (10 R 4/8) slipped, medium sand tempered, medium-fired, burnished, wheel-made, R 22 cm.
- 2- Red paste (10 R 5/8), red (10 R 4/6) slipped (interior and exterior of rim), medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, wheel-made, R 23.4 cm.
- 3- Pink paste (2.5 YR 7/6), self-slipped (interior), red (10 R 4/6) slipped (exterior), medium sand tempered, medium-fired, unburnished, wheel-made, R 26 cm.



a



b

Fig. 32. Red-Slipped Ware (a-b)

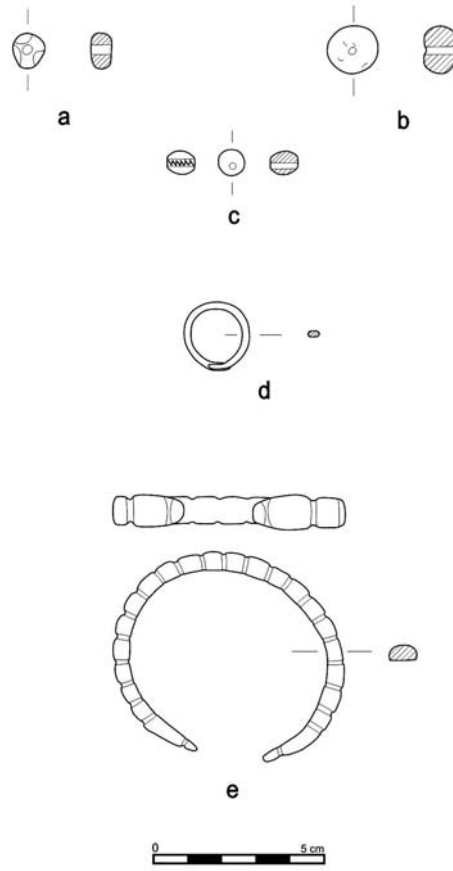


Fig. 33. Small finds unearthed from Çatak chamber tomb (beads: a-c; ring: d; bracelet: e)

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# Herodotus 2.61.2 and the *Mwdon-* of Caromemphitae

Jay McANALLY

## Abstract

*Ethnic identities in antiquity are difficult to define, and sometimes even to detect: that of Carians is no exception. In fact, it is sometimes one of the more difficult identities to detect and define, given the lack of self-representation made by Carians in, for example, literary sources. The Carians, descended from a Bronze Age Anatolian Luwian culture group, became well known in antiquity for their reputation as mercenaries. Serving different kings, they travelled to Lydia and Egypt and adopted elements of these cultures. Considered to have been Hellenisers later, Carians were also Persian-influenced, leading modern scholarship to refer to the Creolisation of Carian identity. The principal source of Carian inscriptional evidence from the sixth century consists of the funerary stelae discovered at Saqqara in Egypt, some having artwork depicting Carians in ways that suggest how they sought to be seen. The archaeological evidence of the stelae bearing emic representations is addressed, and in combination with the etic literary evidence of the Greek author Herodotus, a coherent aspect of Carian identity is outlined. In particular, the evidence left by the Carian mercenaries with the *Mwdon-* ethnonym – those who served the Saite king Amasis – is addressed.\**

This piece of writing will connect the text of the Greek author Herodotus—where he discusses his knowledge of Carians in Egypt—to Carian evidence from Saqqara, a necropolis of Memphis, and Abusir. The evidence from Egypt shows that there was an immigrant Carian community at a place described in Greek sources as Caromemphitae,<sup>1</sup> within which there were different ethnic components having origins in mainland Caria. The focus of this article is the *Mwdon-* component of the Caromemphite community. Evidence of the *Mwdon-* has been discussed in several different works,<sup>2</sup> but even so, a detailed comprehensive treatment of this population group can be further elaborated. Views expressed in these different works are incorporated and further

\* Carian names of places or people are rendered with the values equated to Carian letters as described by Adiego, 2007, 2010. In the case of the people who are the subject of this article, this is done to avoid the possibility of confusion that might be caused by a transcription of Carian to English in a form such as either Mudonian or M'donian, where “u” or an apostrophe would be used to replace the value of the Carian semi-vowel that is represented in transcription as *w*. *Mwdon-* will therefore be used as the name of the people who are the subject of this article. Greek names of places or people are rendered with standardised English transliterations and their modern place names (where known) are given within parentheses.

<sup>1</sup> See also Polyæn. 7.3; *FGrH* 608 (Aristagoras of Miletus), frag. 9b (Steph. Byz. s. v. Καρυκόν), frag. 9a (Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἐλληνικόν καὶ Καρυκόν).

<sup>2</sup> For the evidence see Masson 1978; Davies 2006; Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 10, *E.Me* 11a and b, *E.Me* 12, *E.Me* 13, *E.Me* 14, *E.Me* 16, *E.Me* 17, *E.Me* 18b, *E.Me* 20, *E.Me* 29, *E.Me* 31, *E.Me* 32, *E.Me* 33a and b, *E.Me* 35, *E.Me* 40, *E.Me* 42, *E.Me* 44b, *E.Me* 46b, *E.Me* 65. On the name see Melchert 1993, p. 83; Adiego 2007, p. 381 – s. v. *mdajñ*, pp. 385–386 – s. v. *mudo[n]*, s. v. *mwdon*, s. v. *mwtón*; Adiego 2010, pp. 164–165. For general discussion of the evidence and homeland see Descat 2008, pp. 87–91.

elucidated in the following synthesis. The physical Carian evidence alone is of more value than the generalised discussion offered in the text of Herodotus, if each is considered in isolation. Using the Carian evidence to supplement the text of Herodotus, however, in a way that makes each complement the other, provides the combined evidence with a far greater value than each of the parts alone. In addition, modern views on the reasons for self-harm will be applied to Herodotus' description of a practice of "Carians in Egypt"—slashing of the forehead as part of their funerary culture.<sup>3</sup> Using this approach, the development of a Caromemphite *Mwdon*-identity in Egypt will be explored.

In the mid-seventh century, Carian and Ionian mercenaries were provided to the Saite king of Egypt, Psammetichus I (664–610), by Gyges, the king of Lydia.<sup>4</sup> Herodotus tells a more colourful story of the arrival in Egypt of Carian and Ionian mercenaries, explaining them as the bronze men spoken of in an oracular prophecy delivered to Psammetichus.<sup>5</sup> These mercenaries helped Psammetichus to consolidate his military power and rule,<sup>6</sup> and their presence during the reigns of the first three Saite kings (664–589) is attested firmly by the earliest dated Carian inscription from Egypt<sup>7</sup> and by numerous Carian graffiti left at places to which the armies of Psammetichus II travelled.<sup>8</sup> The Carians and Ionians were granted land by Psammetichus I, according to Herodotus, and then lived in camps on either side of the Pelusian arm of the Nile.<sup>9</sup> A number of sites have been suggested for these camps, including Naucratis, Daphnae (Tell Defenneh), Migdol (Tell el-Herr) and Dios Polis (Tell el-Balamun).<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, Carian mercenaries became an established element of the Saite dynasty's military forces through their service to later Saite kings, including Necho II (610–595), Psammetichus II (595–589), Apries (589–570) and Amasis (570–526).<sup>11</sup>

Amasis is said by Herodotus to have relocated mercenaries from the camps to Memphis, where they became his personal guard.<sup>12</sup> According to Polyaeus, this gave rise to a Carian 'quarter' in Memphis that was known as Caromemphitae,<sup>13</sup> and these ancient testimonies are supported by a concentration of Carian inscriptions found in the vicinity of Memphis.<sup>14</sup> These inscriptions suggest that a group of Carians who described themselves ethnonymically as *Mwdon*- were predominant (numerically) amongst the Carians in Memphis. Probably, therefore, the *Mwdon*- were included in those moved from the Carian camp to the area which

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 2.61.2.

<sup>4</sup> Cogan and Tadmor (1977, pp. 78–80) provides translation and commentary on the Gyges episode of *Assurbanipal Prism A*, II.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 2.152.2–5.

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. 2.152.5, 2.154.1; cf. Diod. Sic. 1.66.12.

<sup>7</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Sa* 2.

<sup>8</sup> Adiego 2007, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 2.152.5, 2.154.1–5; cf. Diod. Sic. 1.67.1.

<sup>10</sup> For discussions of the evidence, with suggested merits and demerits of proposed locations, see Boardman 1980, pp. 133–134; Asheri *et al.* 2007, p. 355; Lloyd 1988, p. 137; Fischer-Bovet 2008, pp. 30–32; Ladynin 2007, pp. 1071–1076; Oren 1984, pp. 7–44.

<sup>11</sup> For general discussions of Herodotus's description of the use of mercenaries by the Saite kings see Lloyd 1975, pp. 14–23; Lloyd 1988, pp. 133–134, 137–139, 180; Asheri *et al.* 2007, pp. 354–355.

<sup>12</sup> Hdt. 2.154.3; cf. Diod. Sic. 1.67.1.

<sup>13</sup> *FGrH* 608 (Aristagoras of Miletus), frag. 9b (Steph. Byz. s. v. Καριόν), frag. 9a (Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Καριόν).

<sup>14</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 1–66, pp. 34–79.

became known as Caromemphitae. Based upon this, it appears that many of the mercenaries who served Amasis would have been *Mwdon*-. Emphasising this Caromemphite distinction in Memphis, there was also a Greek quarter known as Hellenomemphitae.<sup>15</sup> The ethnic difference between the two groups—one Hellene, the other not—would therefore seem to have been acknowledged by Amasis, almost certainly with knowledge of a distinction that separated the Carians from the Ionian Greeks; a possible explanation of the difference is that they spoke different languages.<sup>16</sup> Separate treatment was also afforded to the Greeks when Amasis allowed them to develop Naucratis.<sup>17</sup> Carians do not appear to have had a strong presence in Naucratis; however, a small number of fragments of pottery suggest that a modest number of Carians may have sometimes been there.

Generally, the evidence indicates that a steady flow of Carian mercenaries, many attracted by advertisement of the wealth of Saite kings,<sup>18</sup> sought service in Egypt during the sixth century. Ionian and Dorian mercenaries, as well as Jews, Aramaeans, Phoenicians, Syrians and others were also employed by the Saite kings,<sup>19</sup> but, above all of these, the Carians had achieved a reputation and a prominence as the foremost heavy mercenary infantry of the day.<sup>20</sup> The contemporary view of the Greek poet, Archilochus, who probably had his own knowledge of Carian mercenaries connected with Gyges and Egypt,<sup>21</sup> is usually accepted as evidence for the fact that this view was held by the mid-seventh century.<sup>22</sup> The *Mwdon*-, therefore, given their presence in Egypt, must have contributed to the development of this reputation.

The prominence of the *Mwdon*- and other Caromemphite Carians in and beyond Memphis suggests that they may be treated as a group bounded by possession of a distinctly perceptible set of attributes. As a model for defining practices of seventh- and sixth-century ethnic Carians, the *Mwdon*- and other Carian mercenaries serving the Saite dynasty are certainly the most clearly attested at the present time. Different types of evidence available for studying the *Mwdon*- and other Caromemphites are *stelae* that depict some of their practices, inscriptions written in Carian and Egyptian which provide details of their families, administrative positions and other information, and Greek evidence (literary and inscriptional) that obliquely describes them. Where the latter is concerned, some caution must be taken when interpreting the text of Herodotus in particular. For example, the remarkable anecdote he relates of the Carian and Ionian mercenaries who, before the Battle of Pelusium against Cambyses, sacrificed and drank the blood of the sons of another of Amasis' mercenaries (Phanes of Halicarnassus) for his betrayal of the Egyptian king,<sup>23</sup> is one example which suggests that the Ionian and Carian mercenaries, when together,

<sup>15</sup> *FGrH* 608 (Aristagoras of Miletus), frag. 9a (Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Καρικόν).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Riggs and Baines 2012, p. 7 (<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/32r9xojr#page=8>).

<sup>17</sup> Hdt. 2.178.1–3. On Amasis and Naucratis see Boardman 1980, pp. 117–133; Lloyd 1988, pp. 221–231; Bowden 1996, pp. 17–37; Asheri *et al.* 2007, pp. 373–376.

<sup>18</sup> Diod. Sic. 1.66.7–9, 1.67.8–9 (Psammetichus I); Hdt. 2.159.3 (Necho); Hdt. 2.180.1–2, 2.182.1–2, 3.47.1–3 (Amasis) with Bowden 1996, pp. 34–37.

<sup>19</sup> Bernand and Masson 1957, pp. 1–20; Kaplan 2003, pp. 1–31; Kahn 2007, pp. 507–516; Schmitz 2010, pp. 321–337.

<sup>20</sup> Relevant evidence for Carian (and Greek) mercenaries in the Orient during the Archaic period is canvassed in Niemeier 2001, pp. 17–24; Kaplan 2003, pp. 1–31; Luraghi 2006, pp. 21–47 (particularly 25, 35–36).

<sup>21</sup> Archil. frag. 216 (West 1989) with Lavelle 2002, pp. 348–350.

<sup>22</sup> Lavelle 1997, pp. 247–256.

<sup>23</sup> Hdt. 3.4.1–3, 3.7.1–2, 3.11.1–3.

would have shared customs and activities in common. This, however, is an example of a custom that cannot be attributed necessarily to all Carians in Egypt, as it is a specific story—it could possibly have been known by Herodotus as a child<sup>24</sup>—from a specific political and military context; nor is there any Carian evidence that can be connected with the Caromemphites and used to supplement this anecdote specifically.

There is another literary description that is of more value when considered against a background of Carian evidence from Memphis. According to Herodotus, during the mid-fifth century the Carians in Egypt carried out an act of self-mutilation when ritually mourning the death of Osiris during what he described as the Feast of Isis at Busiris. This account has been identified as a description of an activity performed during the period of the Festival of Khoiak:<sup>25</sup>

ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσούτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιεῦσι τούτων ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρῃσι, καὶ τούτῳ εἰσι δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσι ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι.

Carians who live in Egypt do even more than this, inasmuch as they cut their foreheads with knives; and by this they show that they are foreigners and not Egyptians.

Some scholars have taken the view that Carians in Egypt “imported ... [this conduct] ... into their worship of Osiris,”<sup>26</sup> connecting it with the act of self-castration performed in Republican and Imperial Rome by the Galli when revering Attis, the Anatolian ‘counterpart’ of Osiris.<sup>27</sup> The evidence of the practice of Carians in Egypt, however, is earlier and, although there may have been a form of syncretic assimilation of Attis to Osiris, a different explanation may in addition be acceptable, given that Herodotus’ description is not entirely similar to that of the eunuchism practised by the Galli and other Carian evidence does not indicate that castration need be considered in this example. Thus the simpler explanation is that this practice, imported into the Festival of Khoiak, is an echo of a form of mourning which Carians in Egypt also practised for their own family members. Simply put, Herodotus therefore described a Carian mourning practice.

In Egypt there is evidence of this type of mourning—self-mutilation—at the time when the Carian presence in Egypt begins to be documented in literary and archaeological evidence. This can be adduced from suggested dates for the life and death (shortly before c. 645—shortly after c. 569<sup>28</sup>) of Jeremiah, the biblical prophet who is said to have spoken of the Jewish mourning practices of self-lacerating and shaving heads.<sup>29</sup> Notably, Jeremiah was at one of the suggested

<sup>24</sup> How and Wells 1912, p. 56.

<sup>25</sup> Asheri *et al.* 2007, p. 278.

<sup>26</sup> Asheri *et al.* 2007, p. 279; How and Wells 1912, p. 196.

<sup>27</sup> Asheri *et al.* 2007, pp. 278–279, but with Baudy 2006 (<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/attis-e207610>) and Heinze 2006 (<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/galli-e12222100>). In addition, as cited by Asheri *et al.*, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* and *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*.

<sup>28</sup> Hyatt 1958, pp. 25, 31, 58–60 with Bright 1965, pp. xxix, lxxxvii, cxi.

<sup>29</sup> Jeremiah 16.5–7 (Bright 1969): “Yahweh said further: ‘Do not enter any house where there is mourning. Take no part in their lament, and do not condole with them; for I have withdrawn my peace from this people – Yahweh’s word – my gracious favour and compassion. Both great and small will die in this land. Unburied and unlamented, no one will gash himself or shave his head for them; no one will break bread with the bereaved to comfort him for the dead, nor will any one pour for him the cup of consolation, not even for his father or his mother.’”

sites for the Carian mercenary camp, Daphnae, during the reign of Apries (possibly also that of Amasis), at a time near to 570.<sup>30</sup> As well as being in Daphnae, Jeremiah is also recorded as having been directed to speak to Jews in Memphis and Migdol,<sup>31</sup> both of which places have also been associated with the presence of Carian mercenaries. Based on this evidence, self-mutilation by Carians in funerary contexts can be considered to have been occurring during the approximately one-and-a-half centuries between the arrival of Carian mercenaries in Egypt and the mid-fifth-century date of the text of Herodotus. A physical distinction caused by the funerary practice of self-mutilation that Herodotus described may therefore have been easy to observe as an ethnic marker for those who were in close contact with Carians. As will be indicated, however, based upon the details of Carian evidence from Egypt, it appears that Herodotus' description should be applied only to Caromemphite members of the mercenary community serving the Saite dynasty; in particular, the *Mwdon-*.

In terms of Carian identity in the ethnic landscape of mainland Caria, the social position of the *Mwdon-* is not yet entirely clear, just as the location of their homeland is an opaque matter. With regard to their historical importance in the development of the Carians' first-class reputation as mercenaries, the subject is of some relevance. The name of the *Mwdon-* is no longer considered to mean "Carian," "Caromemphite" or "foreigner," as has been suggested.<sup>32</sup> In connection with the names and locations of several *poleis*, Myndus, Mylasa and Amyzon, the *Mwdon-* name has also been considered by different scholars. According to Adiego, "inhabitant of Myndus" offers an unlikely linguistic solution.<sup>33</sup> A different suggestion which has current acceptance is that there is a linguistic connection with Mutamutassa, a Bronze Age name for the area lying about Mylasa.<sup>34</sup> The relationship with Amyzon is through the fifth-century Greek name of the people or place described as Μυδονῆς (Mudones) or Μ[υδ] (M[ud]), who were listed in Athenian tribute inscriptions between 454/3 and 440/39.<sup>35</sup>

Adiego allows for the possibility that Amyzon is not a variation of Mudon; for clarity, this possibility must be dismissed. He describes the home of the Μύδονῆς [*sic*] (Μυδονῆς) as "...Μύδον- of unknown location, if it is not a variant form of the Carian city name Amyzon [Αμυζων])," and his texts create an impression that he is relying upon Blümel,<sup>36</sup> who stated that the linguistic connection between Amyzon and the name of the Mudones in the Greek evidence is uncertain.<sup>37</sup> Merrit and the Roberts have, however, already made it convincingly clear that Amyzon is a Hellenised *koine* form of an indigenous name that was earlier rendered as Mudon-. The change occurred through the theoretically acceptable explanation of a linguistic process of

<sup>30</sup> Jeremiah 43.7 (Bright 1969); Boardman 1980, p. 133; Hyatt 1958, pp. 25, 31, 59–60.

<sup>31</sup> Jeremiah 44.1 (Bright 1969); Oren 1984, pp. 30–38.

<sup>32</sup> Meriggi 1980, p. 35; Adiego 2007, p. 381 (*s. v. mdaʾjn*); Adiego 2010, p. 164.

<sup>33</sup> Adiego 2007, p. 381 (*s. v. mdaʾjn*); Adiego 2010, p. 164; Overall, Descat (2008, p. 90) has relevance.

<sup>34</sup> Hawkins 1998, p. 27; Adiego 2007, p. 342; Adiego 2010, pp. 164–165; phonologically, "Mudamudassa" (from personal communication with I.-J. Adiego: "Note that -t- in Mutamutassa represents very probably a sound /d/, which makes easier the connection (/l/ in Mylasa would be a later sound change).") For discussion of the locale of Mutamutassa see Bryce 1974, pp. 398–399; 1986, p. 7; Hawkins 1998, p. 27.

<sup>35</sup> Academia litterarum regiae Borussicae 1873– (henceforth, *IG I<sup>3</sup>*) 261.i.5, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 264.ii.4, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 271.ii.72. Partially restored: *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 259.vi.6, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 266.iii.18, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 267.iii.29, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 268.iv.30. Fully restored: *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 260.vii.4, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 265.i.45, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 270.v.7, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 272.i.84.

<sup>36</sup> Adiego 2010, p. 164; Adiego 2007, pp. xii, 14–16.

<sup>37</sup> Blümel 1998, p. 176.



an alteration of  $\delta$  (delta) to  $\zeta$  (zeta), with the addition of a prothetic  $\alpha$  (alpha).<sup>38</sup> The prothetic  $\alpha$  has since fallen away again; working backwards, the known linguistic regression of the name is therefore Mazin, Amyzon, Mudon, *Mwdon-*. The change from *Mwdon-* to  $\text{Μυδωνῆς}$  is a practical example of the way that an indigenous name could be ‘transposed’ into Greek, as occurred in numerous other cases such as those of Casolaba,<sup>39</sup> Syangela,<sup>40</sup> Carbasyanda,<sup>41</sup> Iasus,<sup>42</sup> Hyblissus<sup>43</sup> and Massanorada,<sup>44</sup> and probably also Halicarnassus<sup>45</sup> and Cindya.<sup>46</sup> Comparable linguistic shifts occur in all of these cases.

The strength of the linguistic evidence allows the connection of the *Mwdon-* with Amyzon to be strengthened additionally by the dedication of a figure of Egyptian Bes made at its sixth-century Temple of Artemis.<sup>47</sup> Artefacts depicting Bes have been found in archaeological contexts where mercenaries serving the Saite kings were stationed,<sup>48</sup> indicating his popularity amongst them and suggesting that this example of an Egyptian Bes at Amyzon could therefore have been brought back to Caria from Egypt by a returning mercenary or his family, a common practice—that is, the transport of objects from Egypt by mercenaries—as indicated by the supporting comparative example of the statue base that the Greek mercenary Pedon transported from Egypt to a location near Priene in Ionia.<sup>49</sup> *Mwdon-* was probably therefore the name of a sixth-century group of people whose name became associated with a settlement which was known to the Athenians as Mudon, and later more widely as Amyzon.

The largest body of evidence for the *Mwdon-* is the collection of grave *stelae*—some bearing inscriptions—that were discovered near Memphis amidst the remains of the necropolis at Saqqara, an important cult centre developed by the Saite kings for Apis, the sacred Egyptian bull-deity.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>38</sup> For the suggestion of  $\delta$  to  $\zeta$  with the addition of a prothetic  $\alpha$  see Meritt (1939, p. 521). See also Hornblower 1982, p. 278; Robert and Robert 1983, p. 36; Hansen and Nielsen 2004, p. 1111, no. 874; Kaletsch 2006 (<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/amyzon-e12219290>). The map of Talbert (2000, Amyzon, 61 F2) echoes the view that Mudon- was an alternative name used to describe the site where Amyzon developed. Mudon- (or Amyzon) was developed by the Hecatomnid satrap, Idrieus, in the mid-fourth century, and its name became Amyzon by 321/20. On Idrieus’ developments see Robert and Robert (1983, pp. 90–96) with *Fouilles d’Amyzon* (Robert and Robert 1983) No. 1; Hornblower (1982, p. 278). For the *terminus ante quem* for the date of the name change see *Fouilles d’Amyzon* (Robert and Robert 1983) No. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 43, pp. 227, 237, 243, 245, 269, 275, 375 (*s. v. ksolbā*) to Casolaba (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 263 ii.32). *N.b.* the Carian numismatic evidence for *Azo* discussed by Konuk (2007, pp. 476–477, 2009).

<sup>40</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 30, *E.xx* 1, *E.Me* 5, pp. 227, 269, 277, 415 (*s. v. šugliq*, *s. v. šugliš*) to Syangela (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 267 iii.30, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 284 i.8).

<sup>41</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 36, p. 406 (*s. v. qarpsiš*) to Carbasyanda (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 261v.14, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 260 vi.18 and *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 259 iv.23).

<sup>42</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 9, *E.Me* 25, pp. 228, 269 f. 433 (*s. v. yiasi*, *s. v. yjas[iš]*) to Iasus (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 263, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 285, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 270, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 279, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 284 and *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 265).

<sup>43</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 21, pp. 238, 245, 255, 269, 409 (*s. v. qybliš*) to Hyblissus (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 262 v.26).

<sup>44</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 3, *E.Me* 48, pp. 237, 238, 245, 249, 250, 269, 332, 333, 385 (*s. v. msnordš*) to Masanorada (Steph. Byz. *s. v. Μασανώραδα*).

<sup>45</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 45, *C.xx* 2, pp. 228, 284, 255, 315 (*s. v. alos*, *s. v. alosδ*: *alos karnos*, *alosδ karnosδ*) to Halicarnassus (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 265 i.10, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 262 i.31 and *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 259 iv.12–13).

<sup>46</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 15, p. 255, p. 269 (*Kδusiš*), p. 373 (*s. v. kiδbsiš*) to Cindya (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 260, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 263 v.23, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 269 iv.16 and *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 272 i.69).

<sup>47</sup> For the sixth-century dating of the temple and the figure of Bes see Robert and Robert 1983, p. 63 and fig. 35; see also Hornblower 1982, p. 278; Kaletsch 2006.

<sup>48</sup> Oren 1984, pp. 14, 28, fig. 49; Defernéz 2011, pp. 283–323.

<sup>49</sup> The evidence is discussed by Moyer (2011, pp. 57–58) and Weber (2012, p. 294).

<sup>50</sup> Ray 1978 (<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00438243.1978.9979727#.VBjJFZSSySo>).



The original location of the *stelae* is uncertain, because after their intended funereal use they were reused as fill for construction and as road paving, with some also stored for future reuse. It is unlikely that they were transported for a great distance before they reached Saqqara, suggesting that the place where the Carians interred their dead was nearby. The period of their secondary use has been dated to *c.* 380–*c.* 343, when works on the necropolis were undertaken.<sup>51</sup>

Because no complete Carian funerary assemblages have been located, the type of interment that was practised by the Carians in Egypt is not clear, nor if more than one method was employed: whether or not, for example, the *Mwdon*- and other Caromemphites practised cremation or inhumation (with or without embalmment). It is as unclear whether different types of cemeteries were used for the interment of their dead, depending on whether the cemetery was close to or far from a major centre (Memphis or Saqqara, for example, as opposed to a location near an outpost guarding a frontier). What is certain, however, is that it is considered to be typical of Carians that their culture was a hybridised one, into which elements of other cultures that they came into contact with were blended.<sup>52</sup> During the transition from the Greek Archaic to Classical periods, this includes the funerary culture of Caromemphites and other Carians in Egypt.

As is indicated by the pictorial evidence of Caromemphites enacting a Greek-style *prosthesis* (the laying out of the body of the deceased—done only by female family members—for mourners to view),<sup>53</sup> the *Mwdon*- and other Caromemphites followed an essentially Greek funerary model that should have been familiar to them from their Carian mainland heritages. Regarding the area from which the *Mwdon*- are most likely to have come, in Caria inhumation in family vaults was practised near Mylasa down to the first quarter of the seventh century,<sup>54</sup> but neither Bean nor the Roberts<sup>55</sup> reported any funerary evidence from the immediate environs of Amyzon. Otherwise, there is evidence for the transition from inhumation to cremation in family vaults (Lelegian tumuli with chamber tombs) located on the Halicarnassus Peninsula,<sup>56</sup> and seventh- and sixth-century evidence discussed by Coldstream indicates that putting cremated remains (ashes and bones) in jars to be placed in simple rock-cut tombs and cists was a widespread practice in coastal and inland Caria (Melia, Stratonicea and Iasus provide evidence).<sup>57</sup> Late sixth-century evidence from Athens shows that elite Carians used inscriptions—bilingual, Carian and Greek<sup>58</sup>—to identify their dead and the places of their interment, as well as offering other honours (a statue, for example).<sup>59</sup> Generally, it can be said that Carian burial practices could be modified according to local influences.

The Caromemphite cemetery and its interments could have taken a number of forms. Mercenaries in Saite Egypt developed the *ad hoc* funerary practice of placing cremated ashes

<sup>51</sup> Smith 1978, pp. v–vii; Davies 1998, pp. 48–49.

<sup>52</sup> Carstens 2013, pp. 211–212; 2010 (<http://www.ajaonline.org/online-review-book/694>).

<sup>53</sup> Masson 1978, pl. IV.1 and XXXIII.1, pl. V.1 and XXXIII.2, pl. XXX with Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 143–145.

<sup>54</sup> Arslan and Kizil 2007, pp. 83–93.

<sup>55</sup> Bean 1971, pp. 198–200; Robert and Robert 1983.

<sup>56</sup> Paton 1887, pp. 64–82; Paton and Myres 1896, pp. 188–271; Bean and Cook 1955, pp. 85–171; Bass 1963, pp. 353–361; Carstens 2002, pp. 391–409; 2011, pp. 483–493.

<sup>57</sup> Coldstream 2003, pp. 75–76, 243.

<sup>58</sup> Adiego, 2007, *G* 1.

<sup>59</sup> Jeffery 1984, p. 298.

and bones in lidded Egyptian jars with accompanying Greek amphorae, for example, as at Site T. 73, the cemetery approximately 500 m from Migdol. It is not clear from the evidence if T. 73 was a cemetery used exclusively by one ethnic group, or if it was a space that was shared amongst the different ethnic components that served at Migdol. Unfortunately, T. 73 “was thoroughly plundered in antiquity, leaving behind scattered and broken Egyptian and Greek pottery containers interspersed with burned human bones and ashes.” The style of the interment is described as “jars set in the sand.” T. 73’s surviving complete interment has been considered to be of a Greek,<sup>60</sup> but it has also been suggested that it may be of a Phoenician.<sup>61</sup> It may, as well, be suggested that it is that of a Carian, if there was a common funerary culture amongst, for example, the mercenaries at Migdol. If it is then supposed that there could have been little material difference between a Carian and a Greek interment (Phoenician also?) in the case of a serving mercenary, it is possible that some evidence described previously as Greek has been wrongly identified. This possibility offers a further plausible explanation—other than destruction—as to why no *in situ* Carian burials in Egypt have yet been identified. Based upon the use of grave *stelae* by the Caromemphites, and the absence of such evidence at the Migdol cemetery, a more elaborate arrangement than at T. 73 was probably put in place by the Caromemphites.

The use of unillustrated false-door *stelae* with only Carian inscriptions was a general funerary practice of the Caromemphite Carians in Egypt, including the *Mwdon*-,<sup>62</sup> during the sixth century.<sup>63</sup> Other types of *stelae*—round topped with inscriptions but no artwork, as well as examples with elaborate artwork—were also used by the Caromemphites. Some of the latter type of *stèle* impose the impression that they had already been carved with Egyptian art and inscriptions—prefabricated—with the Carian texts added later. The Carian false-door *stelae* used in Egypt were rectangular slabs of stone with doorways receding etched into the surface. Possibly the false-door *stelae* were prefabricated locally as a standard form of burial marker, with the Carian inscriptions added when the items were made ready for use.<sup>64</sup> Probably these false-door *stelae* were used by the Caromemphites to identify tombs of members of their community, and the sites of their placement may have been the locations where offerings to the deceased were made by living members of the families, the *stelae* suggesting a means to mediate contact between the living and the dead.<sup>65</sup> There were numerous examples of Egyptian false door funereal architecture at Saqqara’s tombs, some of which were very old but still being used or reused by new owners in the Archaic Period (Egyptian Late Period);<sup>66</sup> probably these contributed some influence to the Caromemphite choices. Based on the example of a Greek whose place of interment

<sup>60</sup> Oren 1984, p. 30.

<sup>61</sup> Oren 1984, p. 40 (n. 25).

<sup>62</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 20, *E.Me* 28, *E.Me* 29, *E.Me* 31, *E.Me* 32, *E.Me* 33a, *E.Me* 35, *E.Me* 40, *E.Me* 42, *E.Me* 44a, b, *E.Me* 46a, b.

<sup>63</sup> Discussions regarding dating a large number of the Carian grave *stelae* mentioned in this paper to the sixth century are offered by Masson (1978, pp. 6–7) and Adiego (2007, pp. 30–31).

<sup>64</sup> The suggestion is made based upon the discussion of the subject of prefabricated tomb architecture (Old Kingdom) offered by Der Manuelian (1998, pp. 115–126).

<sup>65</sup> As was the case with funereal Egyptian false-door architecture as discussed by Bard (1999, p. 1094 *et passim*).

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of the re-use of tombs in Egypt see Spencer 1982, pp. 20–26.

was marked by a false door *stele*,<sup>67</sup> these influences prevailed not only among Carians, but also Greeks. There was probably enough interaction between the Carian and Greek mercenaries in Egypt—particularly at an early period when they were still in the camps—that they were to some degree copying from each other, yet also both subject to Egyptian influences.

The *stelae* produced for the Caromemphites were, when put into use as a marker for a place of interment, described as *upe*<sup>68</sup> (with variants *upa*,<sup>69</sup> *wpe*<sup>70</sup> and *ue*<sup>71</sup>). There are no Caromemphite examples of the use of *šjas*<sup>72</sup> (with variant *šas*<sup>73</sup>) or *sdi*<sup>74</sup> (with variants *sidi*,<sup>75</sup> *sdisas*<sup>76</sup> and *sdisas*<sup>77</sup>). These latter words, which appear to be used in the same way as *upe*, are only preserved in inscriptions found in Athens and mainland Caria.<sup>78</sup> *Upe* (and the related variants) cannot refer to a particular type of *stele*, as the word was used to describe one of the simplest curved top type, a *stele* of the false door type, an artistically more elaborate *stele* with only Egyptian-style art in a single panel, as well as an elaborate *stele* that combined Egyptian with Greek styles of art. Based on the fact that *upe* appears only in the Memphis *corpus* of Carian inscriptions, this with its variants is a word from the Caromemphite dialect that seems to have been used in a particular way by the members of the Caromemphite community of Carians.

The Caromemphite funerary record produces a list of names that is the earliest comprehensive body of evidence for Carian naming practices. It is also, along with the attestations of the activity of other Carian mercenaries serving the Saite dynasty, the best available evidence for the names of specific *Mwdon*- men upon whom the reputation of Carians as mercenaries can now be based. The Caromemphite funerary inscriptions also show that *Mwdon*- women were described with this ethnic name, similarly to the men.<sup>79</sup> The inscriptions show that the *Mwdon*- men had typical Anatolian names, used by contemporary and later Carians. For example, many of the names contain elements handed down from their Hittite/Luwian linguistic past;<sup>80</sup> they indicate other influences also, such as Lydian<sup>81</sup> and Lycian.<sup>82</sup> Numerous Carian names found in Egypt

<sup>67</sup> The evidence is discussed by Weber 2012, p. 298.

<sup>68</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 4 (Egyptian style of art, single panel), *E.Me* 9 (bilingual, Egyptian style of art, two panels, Iasian), *E.Me* 17 (curved type, no artwork, *Mwdon*-), *E.Me* 22, *E.Me* 26, *E.Me* 38 (false door), *E.Me* 43a (false door, Casolaban), *E.Me* 64a (reconstructed, fragment of curved type).

<sup>69</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 13 (Egyptian and Greek styles of art, three panels, Mdaunean).

<sup>70</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 36 (false door, Carbasyandan), *E.Me* 41 (false door).

<sup>71</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 3 (curved type, no artwork, Masanoradan), *E.Me* 5 (bilingual, Egyptian style of art, two panels with ship in lower panel, Syangelan), *E.Me* 28 (false door, *Mwdon*-), *E.Me* 29 (reconstructed, false door, *Mwdon*-), *E.Me* 42 (false door, *Mwdon*-), *E.Me* 51 (curved type, no artwork).

<sup>72</sup> Adiego 2007, *G* 1.

<sup>73</sup> Adiego 2007, *C.Eu* 1.

<sup>74</sup> Adiego 2007, *C.Tr* 1, *C.Al* 1.

<sup>75</sup> Adiego 2007, *C.Tr* 2.

<sup>76</sup> Adiego 2007, *C.Ka* 1.

<sup>77</sup> Adiego 2007, *C.Kr* 1.

<sup>78</sup> These words are identified and discussed by Adiego (2007, pp. 289–293). Kloekhorst (2009, pp. 139–143) offers further views on the meaning (in particular, of *sidi*).

<sup>79</sup> On Caromemphite inscriptions for women see Adiego (2007, pp. 271–275).

<sup>80</sup> Adiego 2007, pp. 14, 335–336.

<sup>81</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 17, p. 408 (*s. v. quqš*).

<sup>82</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 14, p. 397 (*s. v. pikarms*) with 2010, p. 152, *E.Me* 65, p. 405 (*s. v. punm*[-]š: depending on the missing letter).

reappear in later evidence written or inscribed in Greek.<sup>83</sup> According to Aristagoras of Miletus, writing in the fourth century, intermarriage with Egyptian women was practised by the Carians in Memphis.<sup>84</sup> In support of this, the Caromemphite inscriptions provide the names of some of the wives and daughters of these men. For the *Mwdon*-, the evidence provides examples such as that of *Irow*, the Egyptian-named wife of the *Mwdon*- *Pikra*,<sup>85</sup> *Iturow*, the Egyptian-named mother of the *Mwdon*- *Kbjom*, and *Ntokri*, the Egyptian-named daughter or wife of the *Mwdon*- *Dwśol*.<sup>86</sup> *Irow* was probably an Egyptian wife of a Carian mercenary, and *Iturow*'s husband probably also served Amasis.<sup>87</sup> Examples such as these show that Aristagoras' description can be applied to the *Mwdon*-. In such cases, having Egyptian family members would have facilitated the adoption of Egyptian culture and language by *Mwdon*- Caromemphites. According to Diodorus, mercenaries were given prominent positions in the administration of the Saite dynasty.<sup>88</sup> The evidence of *Mwdon*- men in Memphis who had descriptions indicating their priestly or other high status—such as *Pntmun*, whose name means prophet of Amun,<sup>89</sup> and *Kwar*, who is described as an hour-observer, horoscoper or astronomer<sup>90</sup>—complements the literary evidence further.

Several of the Caromemphite *stelae* provide an illustrative record of the funerary practices of *Mwdon*- families. One *Mwdon*- *stèle* is inscribed with an Egyptian (unrelated to the Carian) text.<sup>91</sup> Illustrated Egyptian influences on the *Mwdon*- are evident through typical religious iconography (Osiris, Isis and Thoth, for example) shown on more elaborate *stelae*.<sup>92</sup> Other features of their dress and coiffure, such as the wig of Egyptian style shown worn by a *Mwdon*- male (name unknown) who is otherwise depicted wearing essentially Greek-style dress,<sup>93</sup> and the Apis adornment shown worn by a deceased Caromemphite woman, *Pjabrm*, the wife of *Uśol*, son of *Kbjom*,<sup>94</sup> provide indications of wealth and Egyptian cultural influences. As described by Martin and Nicholls, Caromemphites also developed their own style of dress, particularly the women, who wore an Ionic *chiton* with a *kolpos* that was deeper than normal but still left the *chiton* trailing on the ground.<sup>95</sup> Probably this style is an indication of wealth, since the purchase of extra linen was necessary to produce it. The wealth that enabled the elaborate funerary record of the *Mwdon*- and other Caromemphites is most easily explained by the income and status that the mercenaries of Amasis—and other functionaries—accrued during their service.

<sup>83</sup> For example, Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 12, p. 183, p. 431 (*s. v. uśol*, *s. v. uśolś*, *s. v. wśolś*), p. 371 (*s. v. kbjomś*), *E.Me* 16, p. 397 (*s. v. pikraś*), *E.Me* 35, p. 242, p. 362 (*s. v. dwśolś*), *E.Me* 40, p. 106, p. 399 (*s. v. plqo*, *s. v. plqodse*), *E.Me* 42, p. 354 (*s. v. arjomś*). Blümel 1992, pp. 7–34; 1993, pp. 65–86; Adiego 2007, pp. 456–463.

<sup>84</sup> *FGrH* 608 (Aristagoras of Miletus), frag. 9b (Steph. Byz. *s. v. Καριζών*).

<sup>85</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 16, p. 369 (*s. v. irow*, *irowś*).

<sup>86</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 35, p. 389 (*s. v. ntokris*).

<sup>87</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 32, p. 370 (*s. v. iturowś*).

<sup>88</sup> Diod. Sic. 1.67.2.

<sup>89</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 28, p. 400 (*s. v. pntmunś*).

<sup>90</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 31, p. 278, p. 429 (*s. v. wmutiś*).

<sup>91</sup> Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 10. Labudek (2010, p. 417) offers a transcription and translation of the Egyptian text.

<sup>92</sup> For example, Masson 1978, pl. IV.1 and XXXIII.1, pl. V.1 and XXXIII.2; Martin and Nicholls 1978, pp. 72–74 and 79–83. Also discussed by Vittman (2003, pp. 170–174).

<sup>93</sup> Masson 1978, pl. II.2, III.3, XXXII.3; Martin and Nicholls 1978, pp. 62–64.

<sup>94</sup> Masson 1978, pl. IV.1 and XXXIII.1; Martin and Nicholls 1978, p. 72.

<sup>95</sup> Martin and Nicholls 1978, p. 73.

Generally, the pictorial evidence indicates a cosmopolitan Caromemphite culture that included Carian cultural practices, but with variegations of Greek with Egyptian influences,<sup>96</sup> as well as the strong retention of a Carian onomastic identity through the use of names common in Carian culture. Status differences within the community, such as those evidenced by the more and less elaborate *stelae*, suggest either cultural or economic division within the Caromemphite community, and therefore probably diversity within its social hierarchy. This economic diversity—probably not all families were equal—is also evident in the fact that servants or hired mourners<sup>97</sup> appear in the *prothesis* images.

It is noteworthy that in the *Mwdon*- *prothesis* scenes only Caromemphite women are depicted as the deceased. Those women seem, therefore, to have had a relatively higher prominence in death than the men of the community. Three *Mwdon*- *stelae*<sup>98</sup> show a *prothesis* scene that is similar to the comparable Greek *prothesis* ritual. The figures shown in these scenes are wearing overtly Greek attire, in all cases there being a female mourner shown at the head of the *Mwdon*-deceased, which is similar to contemporary Greek practice.<sup>99</sup> This aspect of the evidence must be indicative of the culture brought from Caria. Carian (“east-Greek”) practices connected to a ritual *prothesis* were probably retained, but depictions of Osiris, Isis and Thoth that would have been out of place in Caria show that in deference to local beliefs about afterlife conditions some Egyptian rituals had become typical—presumably in the mortuary practices of the Caromemphite community.<sup>100</sup>

Two of the *Mwdon*- *prothesis stelae* have mixed male and female mourners,<sup>101</sup> and another shows only female mourners;<sup>102</sup> in none of the *stelae* with a *prothesis* scene is the deceased woman described with an Egyptian name. On the other hand, a *stèle* lacking a *prothesis* scene but decorated with only Egyptian iconography was left for a deceased Egyptian-named woman whose husband was *Mwdon*-.<sup>103</sup> Although the evidence is inconclusive, it is possible that some *Mwdon*- did not conduct the typical *prothesis* of a body if the deceased was Egyptian. If this is correct, then it suggests strongly that the Caromemphite culture was diversely composed.

On the *Mwdon*- *prothesis stelae* with mixed male and female mourners one of the males holds an object in front of his face, whereas on the *stèle* with only female mourners none of the women holds a similar object. One *stèle* with mixed mourners represents *Pjabrm*, the deceased wife of the *Mwdon*- described in its inscription as *Usoλ*, son of *Kbjom*.<sup>104</sup> A female is at the head of *Pjabrm*, and the second figure is also a female; both may be members of the same family, although one may be a servant or professional mourner. The third figure is a male with a knife held up, and the fourth is another male in a mourning pose; the third figure must be a family member and the fourth also (or a servant). Possibly, therefore, the third and fourth figures might respectively be either *Usoλ* or his father, *Kbjom*. The middle and top registers are almost wholly Egyptian in

<sup>96</sup> Masson 1978, pp. 77–78; Vittmann 2003, p. 170; de Hoz Bravo 2010, pp. 229–237.

<sup>97</sup> The suggestion of hired mourners is made by Masson (1978, p. 73).

<sup>98</sup> Masson 1978, pl. IV.1 and XXXIII.1 with pp. 72–74, pl. V.1 and XXXIII.2 with pp. 79–83, pl. XXX.

<sup>99</sup> Martin and Nicholls 1978, pp. 75–76.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Hdt. 2.59–61 which implies that Carians in Egypt shared some of the practices of the Egyptians.

<sup>101</sup> Masson 1978, pl. IV.1 and XXXIII.1, pl. XXX.

<sup>102</sup> Masson 1978, pl. V.1 and XXXIII.2.

<sup>103</sup> Masson 1978, pl. IV.2 and XXXIV.2; Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 14.

<sup>104</sup> Masson 1978, pl. IV.1 and XXXIII.1; Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 12.

their content, and the human figure on the far right in the top register perhaps represents the *stèle* owner;<sup>105</sup> if so, *Usoλ* or *Kbjom* may have been envisioned—it seems more likely that it would be *Usoλ*, the husband of *Pjabrm*, rather than her husband's father, *Kbjom*. The second example, the *stèle* for the *Mwdon- Punm[ \_ ]s*, which is from nearby Abusir,<sup>106</sup> has only a *prothesis* setting in a single panel, few differences, and may be interpreted in the same way as the ordering of the first *stèle*, particularly with regard to the object the male holds to his forehead.

There have been contrary views describing the object held by the male figures, which should be outlined for clarity. Zahn originally suggested that one of the figures in the Abusir *stèle* holds a fly-whisk,<sup>107</sup> yet Martin and Nicholls thought subsequently that one of the figures on the Memphis *stèle* held a blade, probably a *machaira* or a *kopis*. Nicholls acknowledged Zahn's contrary view as the alternative, indicating that both objects are certainly of the same type.<sup>108</sup> In line with this, Vittman later stated that it was a knife shown in both *stelae*, and so a representation of the Carian practice described by Herodotus.<sup>109</sup> The question was not addressed by de Hoz in his study of Carian *stelae*.<sup>110</sup> Herda has recently described the blade as a *drepanon*.<sup>111</sup>

Regarding these suggestions, Zahn—if one considers Miller's study of fly-whisks in Greek art<sup>112</sup> that is reasonably applicable to the Carian ('east Greek') evidence—used wrongly the comparative example of an Etruscan mirror with a mythological scene showing Marsyas using a flywhisk.<sup>113</sup> As for the view of Martin and Nicholls, it seems unlikely to have been correct, and the blades they described are more easily associable with Egyptian practice. The *kopis* and the *machaira* were both swords with a curved blade (the former slightly less so) and the terms can be used interchangeably.<sup>114</sup> A *kopis* was said by Xenophon to have been carried by Egyptian troops provided by Amasis to Croesus for the battle of Sardis.<sup>115</sup> Herodotus had earlier described Xerxes' Egyptian troops as carrying a *machaira*,<sup>116</sup> possibly referring to something similar to the *kopis* from Armant in Egypt. The blade from Armant in Egypt is one of the best surviving examples of a *kopis*,<sup>117</sup> but does not match sufficiently with the *stelae* evidence to confirm unequivocally that a *kopis* is shown. The curved blade found in a mid-seventh-century Sardian archaeological setting with a suggested Carian context<sup>118</sup> has no great similarity with the shape of the blade

<sup>105</sup> Martin and Nicholls 1978, pp. 70, 79.

<sup>106</sup> Masson 1978, pl. XXX; Adiego 2007, *E.Me* 65.

<sup>107</sup> Borchardt (1910, pp. 135–137), quoting the German archaeologist Robert Zahn.

<sup>108</sup> Martin and Nicholls 1978, pp. 73–74.

<sup>109</sup> Vittman 2003, p. 171.

<sup>110</sup> de Hoz Bravo 2010, pp. 229–237.

<sup>111</sup> Herda 2013, pp. 445–446.

<sup>112</sup> The thorough discussion by Miller (1997, pp. 202, 207) indicates that a branch flywhisk might be expected in Greek art and in Egypt one might anticipate a feather fan. When flywhisks are shown in a *prothesis* scene it is normally as a functional element, not symbolic or ritual, and the flywhisk bearer should attend the most important figure—the deceased—to whisk the flies away.

<sup>113</sup> Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica 1874, pl. XXIX.

<sup>114</sup> Gordon 1958, pp. 22–27; Snodgrass 1967, p. 97.

<sup>115</sup> Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.10.

<sup>116</sup> Hdt. 7.89.3.

<sup>117</sup> Gordon 1958, p. 24, fig. 2b.

<sup>118</sup> For curved blades found in a Carian archaeological context (not funereal) in Sardis see Hanfmann 1962, p. 8; 1963, p. 24. For the find spots of the inscriptions that suggest the Carian archaeological context see Hanfmann 1964, pp. 50–51; Hanfmann and Masson 1967, pp. 122–128; Hanfmann, *et al.* 1968, p. 16; Pedley 1974, p. 96 with pl. XII. For



shown in the Caromemphite evidence; it is practically certain that the blade from Sardis is not a *drepanon*, given examples of the latter (below).

The shape of the blade shown on the Caromemphite *Mwdon*- *stelae* very strongly resembles two known artistic representations of a *drepanon*: one from a now lost *stèle* discovered in Lycaonia (Iconium),<sup>119</sup> the other from a late-archaic Etruscan *acroterium* from Falerii (now Sassi Caduti, Chele).<sup>120</sup> Both, particularly the Lycaonian example, have been reasonably suggested as being representative of the *drepanon* Herodotus described the Carians who served Xerxes as carrying.<sup>121</sup> Herda<sup>122</sup> believes that the blades found in a grave at Hydas in Caria could be a *drepanon* and an *encheiridion*, although the evidence is from the Geometric Period and earlier tombs in Caria. Overall, however, Herda is correct. A close association of the Carians with the *drepanon* in literary sources (below), and the shape of the blade shown in the Caromemphite evidence, combined with the fact that the object need not be considered a fly-whisk, show that the *stelae* indeed display a *drepanon*. Thus, it can be said that the male mourners are holding a *drepanon* ("knife with a curved blade") to their foreheads.<sup>123</sup>

Incidentally, the *stelae* evidence from Caromemphitae and Abusir raises questions over the reason(s) why Herodotus chose to describe the "Carians in Egypt" as using a *machaira*, given that he knew a range of terms that described weapons with differently shaped blades and that he had elsewhere described them as carrying different arms. A further question is whether or not Herodotus actually witnessed the practice. Descriptions of Carians by Herodotus refer twice to them using a *drepanon*, once an *encheiridion*, and once a *machaira* in the example of the mourning practices of Carians in Egypt. He explained that the *drepanon* was used by the Carians in Xerxes' navy,<sup>124</sup> and by a Carian mercenary serving King Onesilus of Cyprus during the Ionian Revolt.<sup>125</sup> Xerxes' Carians, he added, also carried an *encheiridion*.<sup>126</sup> The Persian depictions of the peoples of the Achaemenid Empire at Naqshi Rostam which are contemporary with Herodotus show a Carian armed with a short sword but the blade is concealed within a straight hilt.<sup>127</sup>

Of nine occasions when Herodotus described the use of a *machaira*, it was as a blade used by Carians in Egypt,<sup>128</sup> but also used by Greeks (generally),<sup>129</sup> Egyptians (twice: the Hermotybies

the identification of the inscriptions as Carian see Adiego 2007, pp. 27–29. The overall context of the Carian evidence found at Sardis is treated by Greenewalt (1978).

<sup>119</sup> Perrot and Chipiez 1890, p. 224 and fig. 359.

<sup>120</sup> Harari 2010, p. 87 and fig. 9.

<sup>121</sup> Gordon 1958, p. 25. Gordon questioned the copy of the artwork made by Texier which is shown in Perrot and Chipiez (1890, fig. 359) but the matter cannot be resolved, given that, as noted by Perrot and Chipiez (1890, p. 224), "It [(the *stèle*)] was doubtless destroyed soon after T  xier's visit, for it has been sought in vain by subsequent travellers." The inscription on the copy shown in Perrot and Chipiez (1890, fig. 359) depicts what appears to be a Luwian language (p. 224).

<sup>122</sup> Herda 2013, pp. 445–446 (wrongly referring to n. 43: see n. 93 instead).

<sup>123</sup> Masson 1978, pl. IV.1 and XXXIII.1, pl. XXX.

<sup>124</sup> Hdt. 7.93.

<sup>125</sup> Hdt. 5.112.2.

<sup>126</sup> Hdt. 7.93.

<sup>127</sup> This is repeated on tombs of Achaemenid kings shown in Schmidt (1970, e.g., pl. 60 showing the tomb of Darius II with a Carian bearing a sword).

<sup>128</sup> Hdt. 2.61.2.

<sup>129</sup> Hdt. 2.41.1–4 (used generically for a knife in the explanation of why Egyptians would not use a Greek blade that had been used to cut up the meat of an unblemished bull).



and Calasiries),<sup>130</sup> Scythians,<sup>131</sup> Spartans (twice),<sup>132</sup> Colchians,<sup>133</sup> Thespians<sup>134</sup> and a Macedonian.<sup>135</sup> Herodotus' descriptions of its use suggest that for him *machaira* was a word to—apparently correctly—specifically describe in a military context the type of blade used by the Egyptians and Colchians who served in Xerxes' army, and also a generic word used to describe a knife of a non-specific type, as in the case of the knife used in the story of the Spartan Cleomenes who lacerated himself to death with one,<sup>136</sup> that used by the Macedonian Perdiccas to draw a circle around a patch of sunlight on the floor of the Illyrian king's house in the story involving the origins of the Macedonian kingship,<sup>137</sup> and in the case of Carians in Egypt who self-mutilated when mourning.

Given the probability that he had some awareness of the differences between certain blades and their names, if Herodotus had seen the practice at first hand, then, as the two types of blade are very different from each other, it is unlikely that he could mistake a *machaira* for a *drepanon*. Probably in Egypt, however, Herodotus had seen many blades of a type that could be described as a *machaira* (or *kopis*), given that it was a weapon commonly used there. This partially explains why he might have thought it a suitable, though not necessarily correct, term. The difference between the Persian evidence and Herodotus' description of the weapons used by Carians serving Xerxes can be explained by the suggestion that in the same way as Herodotus sometimes used *machaira* generically to describe a 'sword', the artists of the Persian representations sometimes similarly used a generic type of sword in their art. Thus, the Persian evidence need not necessarily have a direct relationship with the Caromemphite *stelae* evidence.

The reason offered by Herodotus to explain the practice of forehead slashing—that the "Carians" (in fact, certainly the *Mwdon*-) sought to show that they were not Egyptians, but "foreigners"—is probably correct in that this was a result of their action, but it is simplistic. A more detailed interpretation, based on the preceding analysis of the Caromemphite evidence and in conjunction with modern views on similar practices, may now be offered. This act of "Carian" ritual mutilation—forehead slashing—is, based on the limited evidence, a practice contextualised only in Egypt, particularly in Memphis and Abusir. It is important to note that the evidence for the practice of ritual mutilation has also a narrower context that associates it directly only with *Mwdon*- who are shown wearing Greek-style attire. The evidence for the practice is further limited to male mourners—probably related to the deceased by marriage or birth—at the *prothesis* of a woman. From this discussion of the evidence it can also be extrapolated that the *Mwdon*- used the type of knife described as a *drepanon*, which is consistent with Herodotus' description of an elite Carian mercenary who served a Cypriot king. There is no evidence that *Mwdon*- females practised this form of ritual mutilation, and what evidence is

<sup>130</sup> Hdt. 9.32.2 (of the Hermotybies and Calasiries—who "carried knives"—serving Xerxes); 7.89.3 (the knife of the Egyptians serving Xerxes).

<sup>131</sup> Hdt. 4.70 (to describe a knife used by Scythians to make a cut in the flesh to draw blood as part of a ritual that bound parties to an agreement, after which they drank the blood together).

<sup>132</sup> Hdt. 6.75.2–3 (describing a knife used by the Spartan king Cleomenes); 7.224.1–225.3 (to describe the knife used by the Spartans in the last stand against Darius at Thermopylae).

<sup>133</sup> Hdt. 7.79.1 (carried by Colchians serving Xerxes).

<sup>134</sup> Hdt. 7.225.3 (to describe the knife used by the Thespians in the last stand against Darius at Thermopylae).

<sup>135</sup> Hdt. 8.137.5 (the term in the odd story of the Illyrian king and the young Temenid boy, Perdiccas).

<sup>136</sup> Hdt. 6.75.2–3.

<sup>137</sup> Hdt. 8.137.5.

available can be interpreted as showing that they did not do so. The women may have lamented in what can be called a conventional manner, by some combination of lacerating their faces with their fingernails, tearing their hair out, beating their breast and wailing. It is also possible that this role was enacted by a servant or professional mourner.<sup>138</sup> A *Mwdon*- *prothesis* and funeral may as a result be described as having been a visceral and traumatic occasion<sup>139</sup> that must have provided to any who witnessed it powerful external markers of the cultural identity of Caromemphite *Mwdon*-. The Caromemphite evidence thus confirms Herodotus, but at the same time provides distinctions that are not clear in his brief statement. Overall, the description given by Herodotus should only be directly connected with *Mwdon*- and limited to men, and cannot without further evidence be considered to relate to a feature that defined or was practised by all Carians in Egypt.

According to Tantam and Huband's work on the psychological and cultural place of self-injury,<sup>140</sup> forms of self-mutilation can be engaged in for different reasons; for example, as acts of decoration, healing and commemoration, or as rites of passage, all of which can occur as public or private acts. It is not completely clear from the evidence, however, if a *Mwdon*- *prothesis* and accompanying forehead-cutting was performed indoors or outdoors, and therefore as a private or public act. Principally, the *Mwdon*- example is part of a funerary culture, making it best treated as an act of personal commemoration, rather than necessarily as a rite prescribed by some form of Caromemphite public religion. Herodotus could therefore only have witnessed this as a personal act by a *Mwdon*- commemorating an individual (that is, not at the Festival of Khoiak, which he may have attended) if a *Mwdon*- funeral was being conducted in a place that he visited, and at the time that he was there.

The following quotes from Tantam and Huband offer a means for analyses and insights into the reasons for the Caromemphite practice. An individual's private reasons for the practice might have been that it served to alleviate "remorse or guilt" felt due to the inability to prevent the death of a family member, or to deal with "emotions of frustration and rage ... expressed as aggression perpetrated against one's own body." In this regard it was probably a condoned practice that facilitated the "[management of] ... social disorder by controlling disorderly feelings." If there was a public aspect, it was probably at least the connection between the extent of laceration as a measure of the grief—which could be judged by others—felt by one who had survived the deceased.<sup>141</sup> The amount of laceration might also, therefore, have been related to the status of the deceased. Whilst "self-mutilation may attract social opprobrium or scorn, it may also be

<sup>138</sup> Martin and Nicholls 1978, p. 73.

<sup>139</sup> The comparable examples of the Ashoura ritual of the Shia Muslims documented by Al Jazeera staff (2012, 27 November, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/2012/11/201211271842890427.html>) exemplify the suggested viscerality and trauma.

<sup>140</sup> Tantam and Huband c. 2008 (<http://www.palgrave.com/resources/Product-Page-Downloads/H/Huband-Understanding-Repeated-Self-Injury/Understanding%20Repeated%20Self-Injury%20Bonus%20chapter%20-%20The%20psychological%20and%20cultural%20place%20of%20self-injury.pdf>).

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Tantam and Huband c. 2008 (<http://www.palgrave.com/resources/Product-Page-Downloads/H/Huband-Understanding-Repeated-Self-Injury/Understanding%20Repeated%20Self-Injury%20Bonus%20chapter%20-%20The%20psychological%20and%20cultural%20place%20of%20self-injury.pdf>), where it is indicated that in parts of Africa finger amputation occurs as a practice of mourning, and that a person's closeness with the deceased can be judged by the amount of finger removed. Similar mourning practices are discussed by Favazza (1996, pp. 111–114).

seen to offer some of the benefits that can be associated with mutilation—such as wisdom, maturation, or overcoming shame.” The consequent scarring can therefore be considered to have accorded a *Mwdon-* man a certain element of status within his community, although this is difficult to quantify and value exactly. A further consequence would have been that the scars produced could in Egypt, where scars were a mark of personal identity,<sup>142</sup> have been used to identify an individual.

There is no evidence that this funerary practice occurred in Caria, suggesting that it, in fact, occurred only in Egypt. Therefore, it cannot have been practised by Carians in Egypt until at least approximately the mid-seventh century, when Psammetichus enrolled Carian mercenaries into his forces. The genesis of this element of what later became part of the Caromemphite culture can probably therefore not have been prior to the time that Psammetichus gave the Carians land by the side of the Pelusian branch of the Nile River. If *Pjabrm’s stele* and the *stele* from Abusir (Busiris) are of a mid-sixth-century date, then the practice had developed over only a period of three to four generations, in the time during which the Carians lived in their camp, and then when they were subsequently moved to Memphis by Amasis.

Self-mutilation may occur “more frequently at times of social change or crisis and ... [it] ... seem[s] to serve a catalytic function by accelerating the process of change,” with “some of the most extreme practices of mutilation ... [occurring] ... in cultures undergoing transformation.” Also, “during rapid social change, when society is transforming, there is greater tolerance of experiment and that could be an explanation of why there is also greater tolerance of mutilation and, therefore, why mutilation occurs more commonly.” Also, “legitimate, socially directed mutilations seem to be particularly associated with transitions and social upheaval.”<sup>143</sup> These points perfectly describe the case in the example of the Caromemphite *Mwdon-*, who developed their own Carian sub-culture in Caromemphitae during what must have been for them a period of rapid social change.

In conclusion, the evidence discussed above indicates a new cultural practice of self-mutilation, introduced into the life of a developing community, that by the mid-sixth century had become well entrenched amongst the Caromemphite *Mwdon-*. The process of the Caromemphites’ acculturation to their new environment may have made them appear outwardly Egyptian, or as Greeks under Egyptian influence. The desire to deliberately mark out an identity by the use of self-mutilation can thus be seen as a reaction to the probable psychological stresses involved in maintaining a Carian identity in a new environment, one in which the adoption of new beliefs contributed to the formulation of a new aspect of Carian identity. The fact that the Caromemphite *Mwdon-* resided in a bounded area (Caromemphitae) would have aided others in distinguishing them as an identifiable community, as would also their use of their own Carian alphabet and the development of a new dress style based on an East Greek model but with Egyptian fashion elements blended into the new mix. The incorporation of religious beliefs and practices with which the Caromemphite *Mwdon-* became familiar in Egypt helped fuel the development of a hybrid funerary culture that

<sup>142</sup> Montserrat 2011, p. 58.

<sup>143</sup> Tantam and Huband c. 2008 (<http://www.palgrave.com/resources/Product-Page-Downloads/H/Huband-Understanding-Repeated-Self-Injury/Understanding%20Repeated%20Self-Injury%20Bonus%20chapter%20-%20The%20psychological%20and%20cultural%20place%20of%20self-injury.pdf>).

retained elements of the old Carian/East Greek ways, but also provided a distinct form of alterity. The fact that others in Egypt advocated that one should not mourn by cutting oneself with a knife would have provided further means easily to identify the *Mwdon*- amongst the Caromemphites. Where there is a culture of self-mutilation “no other explanation of the mutilation needs to be given other than that the person was particularly devoted or committed and thus a particularly strong exemplar of the culture.”<sup>144</sup> As the only named example of a figure self-mutilating in the Caromemphite evidence discussed above, *Usoλ*, son of *Kbjom* thus provides such an exemplar. In this respect, therefore, *Usoλ*, son of *Kbjom*, and his wife, *Pjabrm*, offer a paradigmatic example of the Caromemphite culture of the *Mwdon*-, along with a well-documented example of the family of a *Mwdon*- man. *Usoλ* is also a model member of a group of Carian mercenaries that contributed to the widespread reputation and fame of the Carians as the foremost mercenary infantry of the period covered by the evidence discussed.

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<sup>144</sup> Tantam and Huband *c.* 2008 (<http://www.palgrave.com/resources/Product-Page-Downloads/H/Huband-Understanding-Repeated-Self-Injury/Understanding%20Repeated%20Self-Injury%20Bonus%20chapter%20-%20The%20psychological%20and%20cultural%20place%20of%20self-injury.pdf>).

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# Sasanian Clay Sealing Collection in the Bandar Abbas Museum of Iran

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## Abstract

*The seals and clay sealings which are often all that remain of Sasanian archives have played a significant role in understanding the administrative structures of the empire. Until now, contextual evidence for Sasanian seals and clay sealings uncovered from their archaeological contexts included the examples from Qasr-ī Abu Nasr, Taxt-ī Soleyman, Tepe Kabudān in Iran, Ak-Tepe or old Abivard in Turkmenistan and Dvin in Armenia (to mention just the main cases). The provenances of most of the well-known collections in museums around the world or notable private collections such as the Ahmad Saeedi collection are a matter of considerable uncertainty.*

This paper presents a newly discovered hoard of Sasanian clay sealings which is now kept in the Persian Gulf Museum of Bandar Abbas. It consists of 800 clay sealings. In 2012, this collection was confiscated in Bandar Khamir, Hormozgan province, while leaving Iran for the UAE. It was delivered to the Hormozgan centre of the Cultural Heritage Organization. Unfortunately, the provenance of this collection is still unknown, but in comparison with the large Sasanian archives of Qasr-ī Abu Nasr and Taxt-ī Soleyman, which provided 505 and 241 clay sealings respectively, such a great number of clay sealings is remarkable. The present article introduces this new and hitherto unpublished archive of Sasanian clay sealings. It is hoped that the archive in question will expand our evidentiary knowledge of such items.\*

## INTRODUCTION

Over recent decades, sigillography has made important contributions to the study of administrative procedures and the ways archives functioned in ancient societies and empires.<sup>1</sup> Within a framework of dynamic changes, the continuous application of seals and sealings was a kind of guarantee ensuring authorisation, authenticity and identity in the context of socio-economic transactions.

\* We would like to thank Mr Siamak Sarlak and Miss Shirin Aghili for their collaboration, which made possible our accesses to the collection. This project would not have been possible without the essential cooperation of Mr Abbas Noruzi, the director of the Hormozgan Cultural Heritage Organization.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed overview of sealing practices in the Near East, see Collon 1987; Zettler 1987; Ferioli *et al.* 1994; Pittman 2001.

Studying the processes which resulted in new patterns of economic and legal communications reveals that with increasing social complexity, the practice of sealings developed gradually in the field of administrative organisation up until the Sasanian period and this in turn shaped the organisational structure of the Sasanian bureaucracy. In the Sasanian period, just as before it, seals were used to authorise and legitimise documents and commodities in both domestic and administrative contexts. Archaeological evidence of Sasanian sealing practices takes the form of clay sealings that reflect different official or private applications and provide evidence for Sasanian bureaucracy and the system that supported it. The collection in Bandar Abbas Museum consists of about 1300 characteristic Sasanian seal impressions. This paper aims at classifying and describing some of the notable clay sealings in the collection. The complete classification of all the impressions on the clay sealings will appear in forthcoming publications.

#### CLAY SEALINGS OF THE BANDAR ABBAS COLLECTION

The principal function of clay sealings can be distinguished by examining their physical shapes, which provide technical information through analysis of their size, surface and backs, as well as their archaeological contexts. In terms of physical characteristics, the clay sealings of the Bandar Abbas collection vary in size from 22 to 55 mm in diameter. All but two of them have either two or four small holes through which string was threaded to secure a perishable document. The two exceptions (I/I, II E/371) bear no holes. The holes were often located near the edges of the sealings. Traces of textiles, parchment, cords (twisted or crossed), straps and, in some cases, a wide band marked with grooves can be seen on the back of the clay sealings. In many cases, the traces of the band or strap run perpendicular to the string that passed through the holes. (Fig. 1). Sometimes, traces of textiles and parchment, as well as fingerprints, can be distinguished especially easily on the front of the sealings, where the seal imprint was placed.

The clay sealings take the form of a lump of clay that has a flat back with a slightly concave or convex reverse. In some cases they adhered to the surface of a folded document, while in other cases they were attached to the loose ends of the string ties, an arrangement classified by scholars as “appended sealings”.<sup>2</sup> An appended sealing did not seal the document itself, but rather was tied to it by string. These features indicate that the clay sealings of the Bandar Abbas collection are similar to the other sealing collections of Sasanian era.

The clay sealings of the Tabaristan archive, of Berkeley’s Bancroft Library, and of the collection from Bactria<sup>3</sup> cast new light on questions raised by earlier studies on the applications and functions of Sasanian clay sealings, in which sealings were classified into two groups. The first group was small clay sealings, so-called bullae, usually with one seal impression on them, which were attached to documents. The second group are the larger clay sealings, covered with multiple seal impressions, which were attached to wares (for example, chests or merchandise) rather than documents.<sup>4</sup> Since some of the documents of the archives mentioned still have their original sealings, they provide important clues for the study of clay sealings from other collections. On the

<sup>2</sup> Gyselen 2007, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Gyselen 2012 (Tabaristan); Azarpay 2003 (Berkeley); Sims-Williams 2008 (Bactria).

<sup>4</sup> Frye 1968, p. 272.

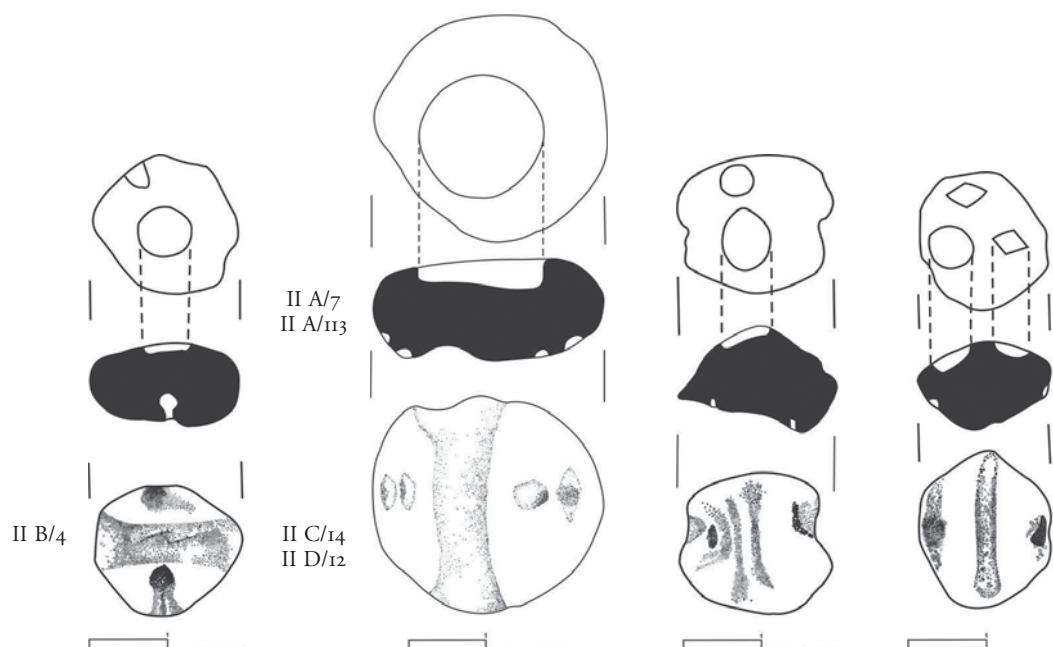


Fig. 1. Sample of clay sealing of the Persian Gulf collection

basis of the physical similarities between most of the clay sealings of the Bandar Abbas collection and sealings from the three aforementioned collections, it may be concluded that the clay sealings of the Bandar Abbas collection would have been used for the same purposes as the others.

All the clay sealings of the Bandar Abbas collection were baked, but in the absence of any archaeological context it is not obvious whether this was due to an intentionally lit fire that may or may not have destroyed the attached documents. The clay sealings from Taxt-ī Soleyman or Qasr-ī Abu Nasr, for example, were uncovered among traces of combustion and ashes and the clay sealings were solidified by the fire associated with the final abandonment of the buildings.

The sealings from Bandar Abbas range in colour from buff and light brown to dark brown, red, grey and sometimes smoky. Their paste types are diverse: from soft to rough, tempered by mineral materials and in a few cases by straw.

Most of the smaller clay sealings, 517 in number, bear just one seal impression, while the larger ones have impressions made by more than three seals, and in some cases as many as 12. Sometimes identical seals are repeated several times, in different clay sealings. Dimensions of the impressions of the seals themselves also vary in size—from 5 to 30 mm in diameter. They are engraved as convex or flat bezels, in some cases mounted in settings the outlines of which are recognisable. Seals were made in various shapes, such as dome, oval, square, rectangular and lozenge, but they are predominately dome- or oval-shaped.



## ADMINISTRATIVE AND PERSONAL CLAY SEALINGS OF THE COLLECTION

Sasanian clay sealings have been classified into two categories by scholars, according to the impressions on them: administrative or personal. Most of the Sasanian seals are personal and would have been used by individuals of different social status. Personal seals generally bear common Sasanian motifs; in some cases they have inscriptions which indicate personal or patrimonial names or sometimes represent wishes or religious sayings.

In contrast to personal seals, administrative seals only mentioned the title of the administration without giving any personal names or incorporating any motifs. In *Mâdayân î Hazâr Dâdestân* the term “*muhr î pad kâr framân dâštân*” refers to the seal of officials who have executive power and rights for sealing purposes.<sup>5</sup> Thanks to the important work of R. Gyselen on the rich clay sealings collection of Ahmad Saeedi, the administrative seals have been divided into two further categories. The first are seals of the provincial administration which bear just the title of the administration along with the area in which it functioned, including one or more place names. These provincial seals could then be divided into two sub-groups on the basis of the department of the administration: 1) seals that pertained to clerical institutions and were controlled by the clergy, such as those of *mowbed*, *dādwar*, and *driyošân ud jādaggōw ud dādwar*, and 2) seals representing civil official positions such as *ōstāndār*, *šahrab*, *zarbed*, and *āmārgar*.<sup>6</sup> The second main group of official seals belongs to the central administration and cites only the titles of the administration, without any place names.

## I-Administrative Sealings

According to this categorisation, five sealings of this collection are assigned to the administrative group. In Qasr- ī Abu Nasr 18 so-called administrative seal impressions and in Taxt-ī Soleyman five administrative seal impressions were repeatedly attested on different clay sealings.<sup>7</sup>

Administrative seal impressions of the Bandar Abbas collection are dome-shaped and match what was reported formerly by Gyselen about the other collections. Clay sealing I/1, with one seal impression on it, belongs to the “*Āmārgar of Bāzāhā and Armin and Šahr ī Mugān and Kūst ī Ādurbādagān*”. This official seal was reported by Gyselen from the A. Saeedi collection, where it was marked as I/65. Clay sealings I/2 and I/3 from the Bandar Abbas collection both bear the same imprint as an example in the A. Saeedi collection (I/61) and have just one seal impression. They belong to the “*Āmārgar of Šahr-Pādār-Pērōz and Armin*”. Clay sealing I/5 has two impressions, of which one belongs to the “*Āmārgar of Ādurbādagān*”. This impression is also comparable with clay sealing I/5 of the A. Saeedi collection. Finally, clay sealing I/4 has two impressions, of which the administrative one belongs to the “*Īstāndār of Wirōzān*”, according to its inscription. Thus, of these four administrative seal impressions, three were used by the *Āmārgar(s)* office of the different areas and one was owned by the *Īstāndār* office (Fig. 2).

<sup>5</sup> Frye 1973, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Gyselen 2007, p. 36; 1989, pp. 114–119.

<sup>7</sup> Fry 1973 (Qasr-ī Abu Nasr); Göbl 1976, Huff 1987 (Taxt-ī Soleyman).



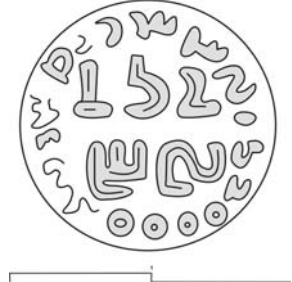

No	seal impression	transliteration	transcription	Comparable with
I/1		b'c'h'y(?) W [l'mny 'm'lk] štly ZY mwd [n W] kw[st]y ZY [t]wlp't[kn]	Bāzāhā(?) ud Armin āmārgar Šahr-i-Mūgān ud Kust-i- Ādurbādagān	Saeedi collection, I/65 Gyselen 2007
I/2 I/3		pylwc p'tl štl W 'lmny m'lkly	Šahr-pādār-Pērōz ud Armin āmārgar	Saeedi collection, I/61 Gyselen 2007
I/4		wlnc'n wlnc'n w[s]t'n[d'l]	Verōzān Verōzān Ōstāndār	-
I/5		'twlp'tkn 'm'lkly	Ādurbādagān āmārgar	Saeedi collection, I/5 Gyselen 2007

Fig. 2. Drawings of the official seals of sealings from the Bandar Abbas collection

## II-Personal Sealings

Like the majority of Sasanian seals and sealings known from the other collections, most of the seal impressions of the Bandar Abbas collection are non-administrative. Their rich and varied iconographic motifs reflect the cultural and religious traditions of the Sasanian era. These personal seal impressions can be divided into two subclasses: inscribed and anepigraphic seals. The inscribed subclass is represented by 250 clay sealings. The inscribed seal impressions are further subdivided into those containing: names (II/A); abbreviations (II/C); c) blessing formulae (II/B); and problematic, illegible inscriptions (II/D). Seal impressions bearing proper names (113 clay sealings) usually have various motifs such as monograms (*nišan*) or animal motifs. Names include Ādur-Gušnasp (IIA/17a), Māh-Gušnasp (IIA/36a), Mihr-Gušnasp (IIA/55), Čihr-Burzēn (IIA/13a), Gur-Ādur (IIA/12a), and Bōrān (IIA/20a). Inscriptions with abbreviations (65 clay sealings) include abbreviations such as AT (II C/3), MO(II C/12), MHO(II C/16), MT(II C/17), and GW(II C/23, II C/29), which have identical parallels in all well-known collections, particularly those from Qasr- ī Abu Nasr and the A. Saeedi collection. Fifty-two clay sealings include blessings and religious formulae such as *abzōn* (increase; IIB/5), *drōd* (greetings; IIB/1), *rāmešan* (II B/37), *farrox* (prosperous, blessed; IIB/18), *pērōz* (victorious; IIB/10) and the ideogram GDH (*xwarrah*) or “royal glory” on clay sealing IIB/17.

### THE ARCHIVE

To date, this is the largest known Sasanian clay sealings archive where the seal impressions are the only surviving information. Documents were tied up and sealed with a lump of clay bearing the impressions of the seals of the individuals who were involved in the transaction they described. Sealed documents can be divided into two major categories: economic and legal. Economic texts consist of receipts, orders, inventories, audits and the like. In contrast, legal texts usually record contractual relations in which both parties agree to do or not to do something. Private contracts could be sealed in the presence of professional witnesses, while taxed transactions and formal documents were authenticated under the supervision of an officer and copies of the documents were preserved in a temple or public archives.

In the case of legal documents, first, a transcript and record of contract was prepared and sealed in notary offices, then a copy of the sealed document was kept in an archive (*dīwān*). This contract had to be approved by the judges with the title *dādwar*, otherwise it could be violated.<sup>8</sup> *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān* mentions archives of this kind; for example, in the fire temple of *Xurram Ardašīr* village in the *Ardašīr – xwarrah*.<sup>9</sup>

The so-called bullae were used within the scribal administration. Rather than by the seal inscription, the seal owner was identified within the text of the sealed document or by means of the seal identification formula next to the seal impression. It seems probable that private seals which stated the name of their owners in an inscription were intended to signify the owner's wealth and status, rather than to be read for identification purposes.

<sup>8</sup> Macuch 1981, p. 188.

<sup>9</sup> Perikhanian 1997.

It is likely some patterns may be identified in the number of seals and the arrangement of them on the surfaces of clay sealings in the Bandar Abbas collection that bear identical impressions. It seems that the principal seal impression is frequently accompanied by a constant number of additional seal impressions, which might be assigned to the witnesses. Clay sealing IIA/3 bears an impression that is repeated on 31 different clay sealings in the collection. This impression is attested in all but four cases with only one secondary small impression; in the other four samples, it appears either alone or with two other impressions. The main and central impression on clay sealings IIA/13, IIA/25, and IIA/27 is always found with one additional small seal imprint.

In the group of anepigraphic sealings, the seal impression on IIE/14, attested on 35 clay sealings, the seal impression with a Nike motif (II E/122), which appears on 16 clay sealings, and the seal impression on clay sealing II E/116, with 18 examples, always occurs alone. We know that the number and arrangement of seal impressions on clay sealings varied based on the document type and the role of the sealers. Although it is premature to make conclusions based only on a few pieces of evidence from one collection, it might be suggested that the same individual usually followed the same pattern. Comparison with other collections may support this assumption.

#### MOTIFS ON THE SEALS

The Sasanian glyptic iconographic repertoire, comprised of symbolic motifs, is significant from an ideological point of view. It was deeply rooted in Iranian mythology and included human, animal, plant and other motifs, such as monograms or devices.<sup>10</sup>

Sasanian sigillographic studies reveal that this class of artefacts was standardised to a significant degree in terms of shape, material, imagery, style and cutting techniques.<sup>11</sup> The iconography of the seals generally followed Sasanian art styles, which to some extent were affected by political and cultural propaganda and, in the private context, by the beliefs and religion of their owners. It seems that there was an association between the iconography of the seal and its owner's social or political rank and status. In some cases, the iconography of the seal might have served to broadcast either the role of the seal owner or his professional status, since some iconographic motifs on seals were reserved for a certain class of nobility.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the content of the seals carried symbolic meaning of importance to the seal owners and had to be understandable by both literate and non-literate people. We must bear in mind that literacy was the privilege of only a few people in Sasanian times and Iranians used motifs because they were easily interpreted by everyone.

Most of the clay sealings in the Bandar Abbas collection bear the impressions of personal seals, as evidenced by their contents, which include iconography and occasionally inscriptions. These motifs find close parallels in related objects from other renowned collections, such as the Taxt-e Soleyman and Qasr-e Abu Nasr clay sealings, or private collections such as that of A. Saeedi or the collections in museums. They cover a wide range of iconographic motifs which could be

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed overview of Sasanian glyptic iconography, see Debevoise 1934; Bivar 1969; Göbl 1976; Frye 1973; Gignoux 1980; Gyselen 1995.

<sup>11</sup> Ritter 2012, p. 100.

<sup>12</sup> Gyselen 2009, p. 165.

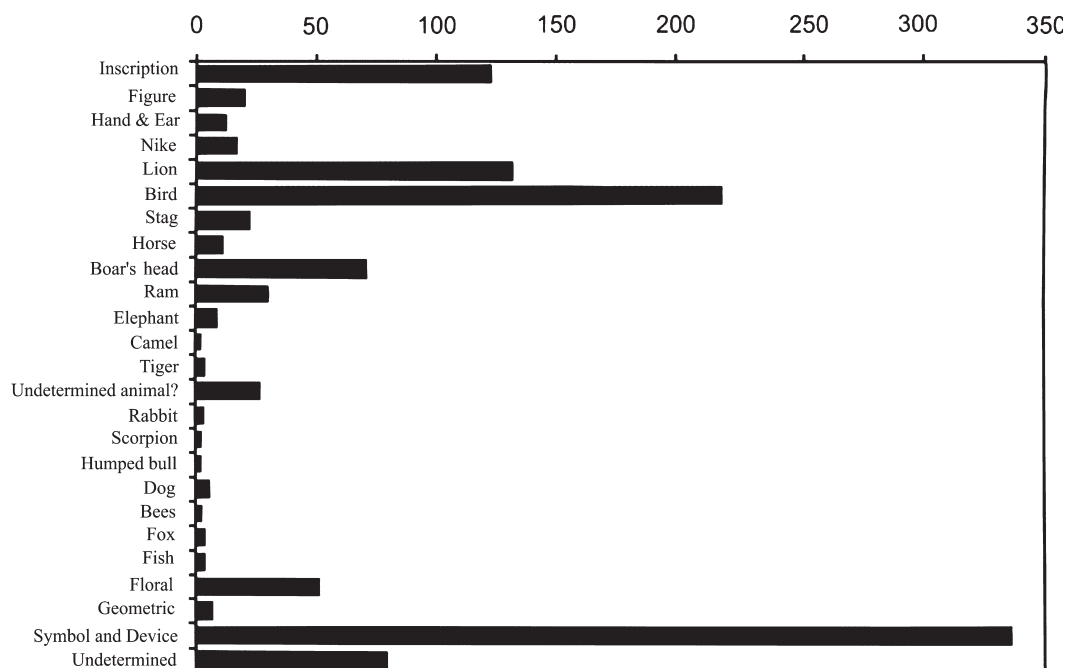


Fig. 3. The frequency of motifs on the clay sealing of the Bandar Abbas collection

classified as human or goddess figures, human body-part motifs such as eyes, ears or hands, animal or mythical animal motifs, floral and geometric motifs and motifs of devices and symbols, the so-called *nišan* (Fig. 3).

The first category, that of human figures and deities, is rendered on both inscribed and uninscribed seals. Human figures are shown alone or in compositions. Among these, clay sealing IIA/III, which displays two human busts, probably one male and one female, along with a Greek inscription, is interesting, as no similar example has been published from other collections to date. Clay sealing IIE/434 shows a female figure in Hellenistic style carrying a bird and a bunch of plants in her hands. Based on the classification which Göbl suggested for similar seals from Taxt-ī Soleymān,<sup>13</sup> clay sealings like IIE/375 may be described as marriage seals, which are unreported from Qasr-ī Abu Nasr. Seal impression IIE/147a, based on the common classification of Sasanian iconography, is a so-called *Gayomard* motif. Finally, the seal impressions depicting the goddess Nike (e.g., IIE/122), the victory deity, comprise 16 identical seal impressions. Nike is widely present in the Hellenistic period on gems and seals as well as on coins. In the Taxt-ī Soleymān collection, Nike was represented on two seal impressions.<sup>14</sup> The seal impressions depicting Nike are generally small and have a slightly concave surface, a type of seal which was commonly used by individual persons.

<sup>13</sup> Göbl 1976, SK 15c.

<sup>14</sup> Göbl 1976, nos. 60, 60a.

Human body parts such as ears are represented on five clay sealings (e.g., IIA/10). Clay Sealings IID/8, IIA/90, IIA/91 and IIA/113a bear the impressions of a hand motif in different styles and have partially problematic inscriptions. The hand motif is often shown with thumb and forefinger together and is occasionally embellished with ribbons or wings. This is generally explained as an auspicious gesture, expressive of greeting.<sup>15</sup>

The next group consists of seal impressions with common kinds of animal iconography. They display a wide range of different compositions, with either mythical or non-mythical themes. They are probably depictions of royal or divine attributes, significant on the ideological and mythological level. Among animal motifs birds predominate, including peacocks, ducks, roosters, storks and pigeons, portrayed in some cases as holding the ring of royalty in their beaks, or as two birds facing each other with the ring between them (IIE/239), in some cases accompanied by an inscription or with the symbol of a moon and star in the field. Similar examples are found in abundance in the other collections.<sup>16</sup> These animals acquired a religious significance.

The next most common category among animal motifs is the lion motif. The lion is a symbol of nobility and power that is also associated with royalty. The lions are represented in various positions and are sometimes rendered in very fine detail. In some cases the animal is accompanied by a winged horse (IIE/17). There are several inscribed examples, in particular with wish formulae like *abzōn* “prosperity”, or with the ideogram GDH (*xwarrah*) “royal glory” (IIB/21). The lion motif similarly abounds in the other relevant collections, where it bears close resemblance to the motifs in our collection despite some differences in details.

The ram is also represented, rendered in standing or couchant position, sometimes with a ribbon around the neck and in some cases with an inscription, or abbreviations such as AT (IIC/3), or with the symbol of moon or star in the field. In most cases the inscriptions are abraded, hampering their reading. In a Sasanian context, such ribbons are the prerogatives of royalty and divinity,<sup>17</sup> and the ram is one of the iconographic incarnations of *xwarrah*.

Representations of a boar’s head, associated with the iconography of *Verethragna*, who guards God-given glory, account for a fairly large number of the motifs in this collection. In one case there is an associated inscription (IIA/73). The motifs of other animals such as humped and winged bulls, the stag, the elephant, the camel, canines, the scorpion, fish, the rabbit, the fox and the bee are also found among seal-impression motifs. The bee is as yet unattested in the other collections.

Another group contains floral and geometric patterns. The so-called tulip motif and triple blooms are found in abundance in the collection, and related and identical examples also exist in the other collections, such as that from Taxt-ī Soleymān.<sup>18</sup> The six-petal flower with a parallel at Taxt-ī Soleymān also falls in this group,<sup>19</sup> as does the clay sealing IIE/520 which has a floral element similar to an example at Qasr-ī Abu Nasr.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Gyselen 1993, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Göbl 1976; Frye 1973; Gyselen 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Lerner 2009.

<sup>18</sup> Göbl 1976, no. 535.

<sup>19</sup> Göbl 1976, no. 540.

<sup>20</sup> Frye 1973, D. 200.

The last group consists of impressions, introduced here as device and symbol group. The existence of such signs is well known throughout the Iranian world at least since the Achaemenid era. The so-called Sasanian monograms that often appear on seals and reliefs are a favourite subject in Sasanian glyptic, but scholars are still far from finding agreement as to their nature and meaning. The signs and emblems are likely distinctive marks, as they were consistently used on media related to social and administrative structures, such as coins and seals, to convey authority.<sup>21</sup>

Frye points out that these signs conveyed certain meanings for both the seal owners and those who saw the sealings. It is difficult to determine whether seals with particular emblems and devices belonged to a certain clan or only reflected the personal taste of their owners, or both.<sup>22</sup> Frye divided the motifs on these seals into two categories: monograms and devices. The monograms group consisted of Middle Persian letters interwoven in a design or pattern that splits into two subcategories: readable monograms and unreadable, stylised monograms. The devices group includes signs which contain no letters and seem to be stylised pictures; they are completely unrelated to writing. Frye maintains that the monograms, consisting of two or three Pahlavi letters, presumably stand for proper names or blessing formulae.<sup>23</sup> De Menasce believes that the monograms corresponded to the names at the edge of the seal, and according to Gignoux, they represented the initial or abbreviated form of the name.<sup>24</sup> However, after extended analyses, Frye concluded that monograms might either be related to the inscription at the edge or simply represent some symbols.<sup>25</sup>

It's not always easy to read monograms, as we don't know the order in which the letters should be taken; moreover, there's no agreement on how to interpret the information they bear. Abstract images are ambiguous and can be understood in multiple ways. No doubt, analysis of these motifs and drawing any conclusions will require the study of several more assemblages of this group of seals and their large-scale comparisons. The Bandar Abbas collection contains a large number of these motifs which all of them specified here as devices (see, for example, IIA/4, IIA/13, IIA/27, IIA/59, IIA/62, IIB/10, IIE/220), which are represented by 295 examples. The crescent moon and sun symbol are also excluded. Some of the devices are symmetrical and stylised. The impression on clay sealing IIA/3a, which recurs on 28 different sealings, is the most common seal impression in this collection. The devices are often surrounded by circular or ovoid frames, and rarely by square frames.

## CONCLUSIONS

As primary sources, the Sasanian seal and clay sealing collections confirm the existence of some sort of registry in the highly legalistic Sasanian state. They also provide first-hand information about the Sasanian archive alongside the literary sources. In the case of the Bandar Abbas clay sealings collection, internal evidence such as physical similarities among the sealings and the

<sup>21</sup> See Unvala 1953; Frye 1973; Manassero 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Frye 1973, p. 47.

<sup>23</sup> Frye 1973, p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> Gyselen 2007, p. 87.

<sup>25</sup> Frye 1973, p. 53.



presence of the same seals attested on multiple sealings indicates that the archive operated continuously within a particular time frame and contained documents with similar purposes. It is likely that clay sealings of this collection belonged to the regional archive of the territorial administration.

It might be that this regional archive was located in northwestern territory of the Sasanians on the basis of administrative sealings which bear the place names of *Armin* and *Bāzāhā* in *Ādurbādagān Kust* (I/1), *Armin* and *Pādār-Pērōz* (I/2, I/3) and *Ādurbādagān* (I/5). *Bāzāhā* and *Pādār-Pērōz* were somehow adjacent to *Armin*. *Armin* as a regional name was used by Sasanian Armenians to refer to Ayrarat region, where Dvin was the capital.<sup>26</sup> In addition, clay sealing I/4 of the Bandar Abbas collection belongs to “*Ōstāndār of Wirōzān*”. The location of *Wirōzān* has been determined from two clay sealings in the A. Saeedi collection which bear the seal impression of “*Zarrbed of Armin and Wirōzān*” (I/165), mentioning that these two regions were both on the same frontier of Sasanian territory and may slightly overlap.

There have also been some Sasanian clay sealings which were impressed by identical secondary seals, which Gyselen has named “cosignatory seals”. These secondary impressions allow us to assign further links among the institutions.<sup>27</sup> In the Bandar Abbas collection there are 20 non-administrative impressions that reappeared on some of the administrative clay sealings in the A. Saeedi collection, which belongs to the administration that was involved in the northwest of the empire. For example, the personal seal impression IIA/12 of the Bandar Abbas collection is also attested on an administrative sealing in the Saeedi collection (I/71) which also bears the official seal of “*Āmārgar of Bāzāhā and Armin*”. It is also found on another administrative sealing of the A. Saeedi collection (I/165), which belongs to the “*Zarrbed of Armin and Wirōzān*”. In addition, there is also a personal seal impression (IIA/66) on a clay sealing in the Bandar Abbas collection which appears as a cosignatory sealing from the administration of “*Āmārgar of Bāzāhā and Armin*” in the A. Saeedi collection (I/69).

So far, there are no defined standards for dating the Sasanian seals and clay sealings precisely; most researchers agree it is not enough to rely solely on the seals’ shapes and forms for dating purposes, as suggested by Bivar,<sup>28</sup> or even on their inscription characteristics, as proposed by Brunner;<sup>29</sup> instead, the iconography and inscription should be considered equally.<sup>30</sup> Textual sources mention that due to the reforming policies of Kavad I and Husraw I in response to the economic crisis and the political instabilities that resulted from the Hephthalite conquest, the Mazdakian movements and the extreme influence of the aristocracy, the country was divided into four regions, called *Kust*, each under the control of a *Spāhbed*. With the new division of the empire, some new administrative authorities were established and given a seal which functioned in different districts such as *driyošān ud jādagōw ud dādwar*, *āmārgar* and *ōstāndār*.<sup>31</sup> Recent sigillographic evidence such as clay sealings which bear the seals of *spāhbed*, *ōstāndār*, *āmārgar*

<sup>26</sup> Gyselen 2002, p. 133.

<sup>27</sup> Gyselen 2007, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Bivar 1969.

<sup>29</sup> Brunner 1978.

<sup>30</sup> Gyselen 2007, p. 20.

<sup>31</sup> Daryaei 2009, p. 129; Gyselen 1989.

and other officials confirm this claim.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the document from Bactria can provide some information about the time of these changes. These documents, on the basis of the date recorded on them, cover a timespan of four centuries. In about 560 AD, Husraw I in collaboration with the Turks defeated the Hephthalites and re-conquered parts of the empire west of the Oxus. A clay sealing found in the Hindu Kush area and introduced by Gyselen indicated the seal holder as “*Kadagistān ōstāndār*”. On the basis of the Sasanian administrative system in the late sixth century, *Kadagistān* may have been an eastern province of the Sasanian empire under the control of an *ōstāndār* for only a short period, while Bactrian documents from both earlier and later than the period of Husraw I refer to the ruler of this area simultaneously as *šahrab* or *kadag-bid* “*Kadagistān* governor”. In the Sasanian textual sources of the third to fifth century AD the governors of provinces were introduced only by the title of *šahrab*, while in the later or post-Sasanian periods they were called *ōstāndār*.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, the comparative study of similarities existing between form, inscription and iconography in the Bandar Abbas clay sealings and in the Qasr-ī Abu Nasr and Taxt-ī Soleymān collections enabled us to locate the Bandar Abbas clay sealings in the same chronological horizon, since the clay sealings from both sites were found in their archaeological contexts and dated to the final phases of the Sasanian period. From the iconographical viewpoint, as mentioned above, the Sasanian repertoire was in use in various artistic media of that time. In some cases, comparison with coins or other material culture could be useful for dating. For instance, the use of “GDH” (*xwarrah*) ideograms occurred for the first time on the coinage of Husraw II, in 591 AD, and certain formulae such as “*abzōn*” (“increase”) appeared in the late Sasanian and early Islamic period and was found on the coins of Husraw II and his successors. Although *xwarrah* “Glory” is the central concept of rightful kingship especially during the Sasanian period, it is surprising that it did not appear before that time in the artistic media;<sup>34</sup> therefore, on the basis of the content depicted on the Bandar Abbas clay sealings, we can possibly consider this collection contemporaneous with the last centuries of the Sasanian Empire.

### Note on the Classification








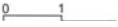


The classification of the catalogue of Sasanian clay sealings of the Bandar Abbas collection is based on the model established by Rika Gyselen for the classification of the Ahmad Saedi Collection. Catalogue numbers commence with the Roman numeral referring to the seal’s general classification. The sealings are physically defined by their dimensions, weight, perforations and the appearance of the back along with the seal impressions on them. Their dimensions are indicated in millimetres and their weights in grams. Descriptions of administrative sealings are accompanied by a drawing of the seals. The scale of the photographs is 1:1. Transliterations and transcriptions are given in the catalogue in Roman type.







<sup>32</sup> Gyselen 1989.







<sup>33</sup> Gyselen 2007, p. 41.







<sup>34</sup> Daryaei 1997, p. 44.

## CATALOGUE








 	<p>I/1. 44 × 38 × 17 mm. 28 gr. Brown. Bulla bearing no string holes and one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 30 mm at its greatest diameter.</p>
 	<p>I/2. 38.5 × 35 × 13 mm. 13 gr. Reddish brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 20 mm at its greatest diameter.</p>
 	<p>I/3. 26 × 21.5 × 11 mm. 6 gr. Blue. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel = I/2.</p>
 	<p>I/4. 40 × 36 × 15 mm. 19 gr. Reddish brown, partly blackened. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 18 mm at its greatest diameter. b) Impression of a convex bezel, 8 mm at its greatest diameter. Device?</p>
 	<p>I/5. 50 × 50 × 23 mm. 42 gr. Reddish brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 23 mm at its greatest diameter. b) Impression of a convex bezel, 11 mm at its greatest diameter. Couchant lion.</p>

	<p>II A/3. 32 × 30 × 20 mm. 16 gr. Dark brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing two seal impressions:</p> <p>a) Impression of a convex bezel, 8×8 mm. Device, in the margin Pahlavi inscriptions, from 11 to 8 and 2 to 4 o'clock: d't pylhw / 'pzwn "Dād farrox/Abzōn"</p> <p>b) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Animal</p>
	<p>II A/4. 32 × 30 × 15 mm. 15 gr. Beige brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression:</p> <p>a) Impression of a rectangular bezel, 12 mm at its greatest diameter. Device. Pahlavi inscription, from 10 to 8 and from 4 to 2 o'clock: 'twr'rt/hštr - Ādur- Ardašir</p>
	<p>II A/10. 27.5 × 24 × 14 mm. 9 gr. Brown. On back, bulla was pierced by two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression:</p> <p>a) Impression of a convex bezel, 11 mm at its greatest diameter. Ear with earring. In the margin from 4 to 8 o'clock Pahlavi inscription ... gwšnsp / ...Gušnasp</p>
	<p>II A/12. 38 × 33 × 15 mm. 12 gr. Reddish brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing two seal impressions:</p> <p>a) Impression of a convex bezel, 10.8 × 9.7 mm. Pahlavi inscription: - in the field in double stroke: GW. - in the margin, from 7 to 8 o'clock: plhw gwl'twl Y(glpšk?).../ Blessed, Gōr-Ādur...</p> <p>b) Impression of a lozenge-shaped bezel, 3×5.5 mm, Symbol? (Bibl.:Gyselen 2007, IVA/8)</p>
	<p>II A/13. 28.5 × 28 × 16 mm. 13 gr. Reddish brown. Bulla pierced by two string holes and bearing two seal impressions:</p> <p>a) Impression of a convex bezel, 6.8 × 8 mm. Device. Around from 5 to 6 o'clock, Pahlavi inscription: ctlbwlc [yny] ZY.../Čihr Burzēn...</p> <p>b) Illegible impression of a convex bezel</p>
	<p>II A/17. 30 × 25 × 14 mm. 8 gr. Brown. Bulla pierced by two string holes and bearing two seal impressions:</p> <p>a) Impression of a convex bezel, 6 mm at its greatest diameter. Turkey in right profile. In the margin from 12 to 4 o'clock Pahlavi inscription: 'twl gušnasp / Ādur- Gušnasp</p> <p>b) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Device, in the field at 2 o'clock eight – pointed star</p>








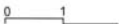

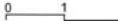

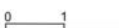
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II A/20. 28.5 × 28 × 17 mm. 9 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 7 mm at its greatest diameter. Pahlavi inscription in a border of pearls: bwl'n / Bōrān b) Illegible impression of a convex bezel, 7 mm at its greatest diameter</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II A/25. 33.5 × 32 × 13 mm. 8 gr. Dark brown, partly blackened. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 12 mm at its greatest diameter. In the field Pahlavi inscription in double stroke: WHW. In the margin, undetermined Pahlavi inscription from 2 to 6 o'clock between crescent and eight-pointed stars.</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II A/27. 39 × 38 × 15 mm. 17 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 20 mm at its greatest diameter. Device. Around from 4 to 4 o'clock, Pahlavi inscription: ... lwr? gušnasp l'st 'twl... "Gušnasp - rāst - Ādur" b) Impression of a convex bezel, 12 mm at its greatest diameter. Cock to right with ring, around from 12 to 6 o'clock erased inscription.</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II A/36. 32 × 25.5 × 17 mm. 14 gr. Beige. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 7 × 7 mm. Two lines with Pahlavi inscription: lynwy (or lyw Y)/ bwl'n'n "...son of Bōrān". b) Impression of a convex bezel, 7 × 7 mm. Ram crouching to left. In the margin, from 2 to 6 o'clock, Pahlavi inscription: m'h gwšnsp "Māh-Gušnasp" (Gyselen 2007, IVB/23)</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II A/55. 31 × 29 × 16 mm. 11 gr. Beige. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 11 mm at its greatest diameter. In the field device. In the field from 4 to 4 o'clock Pahlavi inscription: mtr gwšnsp 'twl 'pzwn "Mihr-Gušnasp-Ādur increas "</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II A/59. 32 × 30.5 × 9 mm. 8 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 14 mm at its greatest diameter. Device. Around from 4 to 1 o'clock illegible Pahlavi inscription and from 11 to 10 Pahlavi inscription: .../twr "Ādur".</p>







	<p>II A/62. 32 × 28 × 8 mm. 8 gr. Brown. Bulla pierced by two string holes and bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 12 mm at its greatest diameter. Device. In the field at 9 o'clock six-pointed star. Around the edge, from 4 to 12 o'clock, Pahlavi inscription: hwš d't "Xuš-Dād".</p>
	<p>II A/66. 37 × 34 × 17 mm. 20 gr. Dark brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a groove. Bulla bearing five seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 8 × 11 mm. Device in double stroke, in the field at 3 o'clock crescent and at 9 o'clock six pointed- star, around the edge, Pahlavi inscription from 5 o'clock: .../nw't. b) Impression of a rectangular seal, 11 mm at its greatest diameter. Device. In the field at 11 o'clock crescent and at 2 o'clock eight-pointed stars. c) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Bird. d) Impression of a rectangular seal, 6 mm at its greatest diameter. Fish. e) Impression of a rectangular seal, 6 mm at its greatest diameter. Undetermined motif.</p>
	<p>II A/73. 41 × 38.5 × 16 mm. 23 gr. Brown. Bulla pierced by two string holes and bearing three seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 10 mm at its greatest diameter. Boar's head in right profile. Around from 2 to 9 o'clock Pahlavi inscription: bwlcmtr "Burz-Mihr". b) Impression of a rectangular seal, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Lion couchant to right. c) Erased impression of a convex bezel, 13 mm at its greatest diameter</p>
	<p>II A/III. 30 × 29 × 11 mm. 5 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 11 mm at its greatest diameter. Two figures next to each other with flower between them an inscription in Greek</p>
	<p>II B/1. 28 × 28 × 16 mm. 8 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Pahlavi inscription in double stroke: ŠRM. drōd / peace.</p>
	<p>II B/5. 29 × 24.5 × 16 mm. 9 gr. Dark grey. On back, two string holes and mark of a groove. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Pahlavi inscription from 1 to 10 o'clock: 'pzwñ / Abzōn: increase b) Impression of a convex bezel, 6 mm at its greatest diameter. Device and at 11 o'clock, crescent</p>






	<p>II B/10. 32.5 × 30 × 16 mm. 9 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 10 × 11 mm. Device. In the margin from 2 to 4 o'clock (clockwise) and from 10 to 8 o'clock (anticlockwise), Pahlavi inscription: 'pzwn / pylwc "Increase/victorious".</p>
	<p>II B/17. 32 × 30 × 14 mm. 9 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a hexagonal bezel, 12 mm in greatest diameter. Winged horse and at 11 o'clock Pahlavi inscription: GDH: xwarrah. b) Impression of a convex bezel, 7 mm in greatest diameter. Bird?</p>
	<p>II B/18. 31 × 31 × 17 mm. 13 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 12 mm at its greatest diameter. Lion couchant to right. In the margin Pahlavi inscription from 12 to 10 o'clock and 6 to 4 o'clock: 'pzwn / plhw "increase/ blessed"</p>
	<p>II B/21. 33 × 32 × 17 mm. 13 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 12 mm at its greatest diameter. Lion couchant to right and at 11 o'clock Pahlavi inscription: GDH: xwarrah. b) Impression of a rectangular bezel, 8 mm at its greatest diameter. Bird in right profile.</p>
	<p>II B/37. 28 × 25 × 9 mm. 4 gr. Beige. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a lozenge-shaped bezel, 7 mm at its greatest diameter. Pahlavi inscription in two lines: l'mšn / ŠRM "ramišn / drōd"</p>
	<p>II C/3. 31 × 29 × 15 mm. 12 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 9.5 mm at its greatest diameter. Ram crouching to right with diadem ties at neck. At 12 o'clock, two Pahlavi letters: AT</p>
	<p>II C/12. 31 × 29 × 14 mm. 10 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a rectangular bezel, 4 mm at its greatest diameter. Pahlavi letters MW in double stroke</p>



 	<p>II C/16. 31.5 × 29 × 13 mm. 9 gr. Beige-brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel in a lozenge-shaped setting. 10 mm in greatest diameter. Pahlavi letters MHW in double stroke</p>
 	<p>II C/17. 30 × 29 × 16 mm. 12 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a rectangular bezel. 10 mm at its greatest diameter. Pahlavi letters MT in double stroke.</p>
 	<p>II C/23. 37 × 33 × 14 mm. 15 gr. Brown, partly blackened. On back, two string holes into the bulla. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel. 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Crane in right profile. In the field at 3 o'clock, two Pahlavi letters: GW</p>
 	<p>II C/29. 33 × 32 × 8 mm. 10 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 13 mm at its greatest diameter. Pahlavi letters GW in double stroke in a border of annulets. In the margin from 3 to 12 o'clock, Pahlavi inscription: 'pzwn "increase."</p>
 	<p>II E/14. 36.5 × 35 × 20 mm. 18.5 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Lion crouching to right</p>
 	<p>II E/122. 32 × 28 × 17 mm. 8 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm in greatest diameter. Nike with ring.</p>

 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II E/116. 32 × 31 × 14 mm. 10 gr.          Reddish brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a broad groove.          Bulla bearing one seal impression:          a) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Device</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II E/434. 30 × 29 × 14 mm. 8 gr.          Beige. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression:          a) Impression of a convex bezel, 13 mm at its greatest diameter. Figure in Hellenistic style in a floral border, holding a bird</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II E/375. 30 × 28 × 12 mm. 4 gr.          Brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a groove.          Bulla bearing two seal impressions:          a) Impression of a rectangular bezel, 8 mm at its greatest diameter. Two figures facing each other.          b) Impression of a lozenge-shaped bezel, 8 mm at its greatest diameter. Boar's head in a right profile.</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II E/147. 26 × 24 × 14 mm. 6 gr.          Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing two seal impressions:          a) Impression of a convex seal, 8 mm at its greatest diameter. <i>Gayōmard</i>.          b) Erased impression</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II A/91. 42 × 32 × 17 mm. 17 gr.          Brown. On back, bulla pierced by two string holes.          Bulla bearing two seal impressions:          a) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Hand</p>
 <p>0 1</p>	<p>II E/239. 32 × 31 × 15 mm. 13 gr.          Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression:          a) Impression of a rectangular bezel, 14 mm at its greatest diameter. Two birds facing each other and bearing a ring with two pearls.</p>

	<p>II E/173. 35 × 34 × 17 mm. 15 gr. Dark brown. On back, two string holes and mark of a groove. Bulla bearing one seal impression: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 15 mm in diameter. At the left, lion in right profile and at the right, winged horse in left profile facing each other. In the field at 12 o'clock crescent and at 6 o'clock six-pointed stars.</p>
	<p>II E/220. 35 × 32 × 8 mm. 17 gr. Brown. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing one seal impression: Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm at its greatest diameter. Device. Crescent in the field at 3 o'clock and at 9 o'clock six-pointed stars.</p>
	<p>II E/520. 25 × 23 × 11 mm. 5 gr. Dark grey. On back, two string holes. Bulla bearing two seal impressions: a) Impression of a convex bezel, 12 mm in diameter. Floral element. b) Impression of a convex bezel, 9 mm in diameter. Illegible impression.</p>

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# Some Features of Coptic Identity

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## Abstract

*In a multi-lingual and multi-religious society such as the Egyptian one, the development of the collective memory is obvious and can be traced in order to identify the events in Christian Egypt that were most influential in shaping Coptic consciousness. Coptic identity can be recognised in every element of the Coptic heritage, such as literature, archaeology and art. The present paper tries to highlight the self-identification of the Copts as it is reflected in their own literary texts produced until the end of the Mamluk period (1517 CE). Since Coptic identity is variegated, this brief study will be limited to only three features: language, conversion and martyrdom, and apologetics and religious dialogue.\**

Forming the identity of a nation is a cultural production that consists of various features. Religion, regardless of how important it is or how much influence it has on the other features, is only one component. However, in their attempt to define the features of Coptic identity, Copts have shown a tendency to confuse what is religious with what is cultural. The limitation of the Coptic identity to only the religious aspect, in which other Christians also participate, leads to the distortion of the substance of that identity. Even this “religious” identity is not purely Coptic, but rather Christian. Therefore, I think that the definition of “Coptic identity” in modern times still needs more discussion and clarification.

The Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 was, alongside the persecution in 303 and the Chalcedonian schism in 451, the main element in shaping and establishing Coptic collective self-identification. It is quite clear that Egypt remained predominantly Coptic in language and Christian in religion and culture until sometime in the ninth century. However, the Arabicisation process was faster and deeper than Islamisation, so that Coptic culture had apparently become completely Arabised by the 13th century. On the other hand, the last stage of Islamisation began after that, occurring during the Mamluk period (1250–1517). The Coptic Church under Muslim rulers needed to present itself, its history and, most of all, its beliefs in a different way from how it had before. It had to re-explain its dogma in a way that suited the new milieu of Arabic-Islamic culture. This circumstance was the motive for a new Coptic literature in the Arabic language that flourished in the 13th century and was influenced by the surrounding Islamic culture in the Near East in general and Egypt in particular.

In this article, I will discuss three important features of Coptic self-identification as reflected in some Coptic and Arabic literary sources to demonstrate how the Copts identified and presented themselves and how their identity developed.

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## The Language

Language is a major element in the process through which one obtains knowledge and forms the features of one's own identity. Choosing to speak or write in a certain language, whether one's mother tongue or a foreign language, depends on the power the speakers of that language enjoy. The desire of an ethnic minority group to integrate into another community is a primary motive for adopting its language and lifestyle. Conversely, if the minority group has the authority, some of the native people may try to learn the language of the conquerors in order to associate with them and thereby achieve benefits or avoid harm.

Bilingualism already existed in Egypt in Pharaonic times. In the sixth century BCE there was a Greek community in Memphis; however, by the third century those Greek speakers had lost their Greekness. In 332 BCE Alexander the Great occupied Egypt. Most of his successors, the Ptolemies, did not try to learn the language of their subjects. Queen Cleopatra VII was the exception. Speaking in Greek became a sign of superiority and of being well educated. Egyptian society was divided into ethnic and religious groups with various languages. Some Egyptian natives adopted a double cultural life so that they had two names, an Egyptian one at home and a Greek one in society. However, the situation changed after the Roman occupation in 30 BCE, when the Greeks in Egypt became subjects of the Roman Empire. The Egyptian bilingual society then stood face to face with the new invader and his new language, Latin.<sup>1</sup>

In the first century CE there were two phenomena that changed Egyptian history; namely, the spreading of Christianity and the evolution of the Egyptian language to reach its final stage, which is known as Coptic. The Coptic language derives from ancient Egyptian, which was still used in Pharaonic temples until the sixth century CE. The adoption of the Greek alphabet to write the Egyptian language saved it from disappearance. Egyptian became more and more difficult to learn as the number of signs increased, eventually reaching 6000. From the end of the second century CE on, Egyptian signs were hardly readable. The hieroglyphic signs became more decorative figures than functional tools for communication.<sup>2</sup>

Knowledge of Old Egyptian became weak and synonymous with paganism in the eyes of the Christians. However, in the first centuries CE there were still Christians who understood how the Egyptian language functioned. Clement of Alexandria (d. 220), for example, shows a good understanding of the Egyptian script and how it works. In the fourth chapter of the fifth book of his *Stromata* he writes:

Now those instructed among the Egyptians learned first of all that style of the Egyptian letters which is called Epistolographic; and second, the Hieratic, which the sacred scribes practice; and finally, and last of all, the Hieroglyphic, of which one kind which by the first elements is literal (Kyriologic), and the other Symbolic. Of the Symbolic, one kind speaks literally by imitation, and another writes as it were figuratively; and another is quite allegorical, using certain enigmas. Wishing to express Sun in writing, they make a circle; and Moon, a figure like the Moon, like its proper shape. But in using the figurative style, by transposing and transferring, by changing and

<sup>1</sup> Torallas Tovar 2010, pp. 19–28.

<sup>2</sup> Sternberg-El Hotabi 1994, pp. 221–239.

by transforming in many ways as suits them, they draw characters. In relating the praises of the kings in theological myths, they write in anaglyphs.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast with Clement, in the second/third century Shenoute of Atripe (d. 465)<sup>4</sup> shows a complete ignorance of the Egyptian script and makes it an object of ridicule:

There is nothing else portrayed for them except the likeness of the snakes and scorpions, the dogs and cats, the crocodiles and frogs, the foxes, the other reptiles, the beasts and birds, the cattle, etc.; furthermore, the likeness of the sun and the moon and all the rest, all their things being nonsense and humbug—and where these are, it is the soul-saving scriptures of life that will henceforth come to be therein.<sup>5</sup>

After the Greek occupation by Alexander the Great, and particularly in the first century BCE, some attempts were made to write Egyptian personal names and short texts using the Greek alphabet; this is called “pre-Old Coptic”. Other more numerous and systematic attempts were made in the first and second century CE to write long texts using the Greek alphabet in addition to signs derived from Demotic; that is, Old Coptic.<sup>6</sup> This new writing system opened a wide horizon for the new religion, Christianity, which was preached in Alexandria in the first century by the apostle Mark, according to the ecclesiastical tradition. In the fourth century, Coptic developed into a standard language. We have evidence that various parts or whole books of both the Old and New Testaments were translated from Greek into Coptic in the third century.<sup>7</sup> However, the language first took its final form in the fourth century. The monastic movement, which arose at that time under native Egyptians, played a key role in standardising Coptic, especially in the writings of the Archimandrite Shenoute of Atripe, which reached the highest level of Sahidic Coptic.

Although Greek was the language of the administration, most Egyptians in Upper and Lower Egypt, and plenty of monks and clerics, could not speak this language. Therefore, it was important to organise an interpreting service in monasteries and hermitic settlements, as attested in monastic literature.<sup>8</sup> In Alexandria, the capital of the land, Greek was the most widely spoken and best understood language. The famous narrative of Dioscorus, the patriarch of Alexandria (444–454), and the Coptic bishop Macarius of Tkōou from Upper Egypt illustrates the point well. On the ship to attend the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the patriarch could not communicate with his bishop because he did not speak Coptic but rather Greek, which the bishop did not understand. This fact led Theopistus, the disciple of Dioscorus, to describe the bishop as “mouthless one”.<sup>9</sup> From other sources we know that the same Dioscorus sent a letter to the

<sup>3</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, vol. 4, in Stählin 1960, p. 339; English translation, Schaff and Wace 1994, vol. 2, p. 449.

<sup>4</sup> The date of the death of Shenoute is debatable, see Luisier 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Shenoute of Atripe, *Acephalous Work A6* in Young 1981, p. 349b; English translation p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> Quaegebeur 1991, p. 189. Transliteration or transcription of one language in the script of another was practised in the Near East in general; see Papaconstantinou 2010, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed discussion on the stages of translating the Bible into Coptic, see Takla 2007, pp. 7–12; 2014.

<sup>8</sup> Torallas Tovar 2010, pp. 38–42.

<sup>9</sup> *The Panegyric on Macarius of Tkōou* I.10–11, Sahidic text with English translation, Johnson 1980, vol. 1, pp. 4–5; vol. 2, p. 4; Bohairic text with French translation, Amélineau 1885–1886, pp. 95–96; Arabic text with German translation, Moawad 2010, pp. 70, 105–106; modern Arabic translation, Moawad 2013b, p. 217.

archimandrite Shenoute and asked him to translate it into Coptic.<sup>10</sup> Even after the Council of Chalcedon, until the eighth century, Greek remained the language used for composing theological treatises, while homilies and hagiographies were written in Coptic.<sup>11</sup> Until the ninth century it was important for the Coptic patriarch to be able to understand Greek. The Arabic *History of the Patriarchs* tells us that Patriarch Mark II (799–819) entrusted his successor Yūsāb (830–849) to a deacon to teach him the Greek language.<sup>12</sup> The same source confirms that the *taqlid* (document of investiture) of Patriarch Macarius II (1102–1128) was read to the people in the church in Coptic, Greek and Arabic.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, in daily life, schools, and science, the Greek language was taught and used many centuries after the Arab conquest and remained a language of prestige. It was taught in Coptic schools at least until the 11th century, as preserved exercise books testify.<sup>14</sup>

While Coptic was the ritual language of the church, Greek was also used in the liturgy in certain towns.<sup>15</sup> It is testified that until the 13th century, the liturgy in most of the Coptic churches in Alexandria and some churches in the delta was celebrated in Greek. According to the *History of the Churches and Monasteries*, the language of the liturgy in Coptic churches in Alexandria, with the exception of only one, was still Greek at least until the 12th century.<sup>16</sup> Liturgical manuscripts from the 19th century<sup>17</sup> bear witness to the fact that some Coptic churches celebrated the liturgy in Greek during this time.<sup>18</sup> The Coptic mass in its entirety still contains sections and hymns that are in Greek.

These facts and others show that the Coptic Church did not disdain the use of the Greek language or consider it heretical, since its own theological heritage is written in that language. For the Coptic Church, the Greek language was solely a medium to express itself in theology and liturgy and did not have any other communal meaning. Among the non-Chalcedonian clergy in Egypt, using the Greek language was a way of preserving their own identity and was seen as representing loyalty to the Church Fathers and their writings.

We do not have any evidence that the Arabicisation of Egypt began directly after the Arab conquest in 641. In Egypt, Arabic became the administrative language in 705 under the rule of the Caliph al-Walid ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (705–715), but Coptic was also used. The so-called *Dossier of Qurra ibn Sharik* from the same period contains official correspondence and other documents in Arabic, Greek, and Coptic as well.<sup>19</sup> However, to keep their positions in the state administration, Coptic officials had to learn Arabic. In the 10th century, Coptic was no longer understood by many Egyptians and this had consequences for understanding their own religion and dogmas which were written and explained in Coptic. The death of Coptic as a culture-bearing language

<sup>10</sup> Thompson 1922.

<sup>11</sup> Mikhail 2014, pp. 84–87.

<sup>12</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 483.

<sup>13</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 4; English translation p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Hasitzka 1990, pp. 181–214, nos. 256–270, except no. 258; Papaconstantinou 2006, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup> Seybold 1912, p. 115; Šamū’īl al-Sūryānī 1999–2000, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Šamū’īl al-Sūryānī 1999–2000, vol. 1, p. 119.

<sup>17</sup> For example MS Lit. 13 preserved in al-Muḥarraḡ Monastery and MSS Lit. 155 and 156 preserved in the Monastery of St. Macarius.

<sup>18</sup> Budde 2004, pp. 70–92; Mikhail 2014, pp. 87–89.

<sup>19</sup> Richter 2010, pp. 195–208.

meant the loss of the past with all its events and features. It meant the loss of the identity as Copts (Egyptian Christians) in a religious sense.<sup>20</sup> *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Samuel of Qalamūn*, an anonymous text from the eighth or early ninth century, attests that forgetting Coptic and speaking Arabic would cause the Copts to have no understanding that they were Christians.<sup>21</sup> Here the Coptic language has no ethnical definition, but solely a religious one, as becomes clear when we notice that the anonymous author of the *Apocalypse* addresses his speech to “the Christians” or “the Orthodox” and never refers to his audience as “Copts”.<sup>22</sup>

Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, from the 10th century, is the first Copt known to have written Christian religious texts in Arabic. Michael of Tinnīs, in the *History of the Patriarchs*, mentions that Sawirus spoke and wrote Arabic fluently in addition to his rich theological knowledge.<sup>23</sup> In *Kitāb al-Idāh*, “The Book of the Elucidation,” from the 11th century and falsely attributed to Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, the anonymous author refers to how the Copts became ignorant of Christian teachings because they could no longer understand Coptic.<sup>24</sup> In his speech about the mystery of the trinity of God, he says: “The reason for the concealment of this mystery from the believers at this time is their mingling with the *ḥunafāʾ* [i.e., the Muslims], and the disappearance of their [Coptic] language, through which they know the truth of their religion.”<sup>25</sup> He repeats the same message in the tenth chapter of the same book:

You mentioned, beloved, that the Copts in this time are of different meaning concerning the Orthodox faith. One of them has another point of view from the other and he considers him unbeliever. You wonder and are at a loss about that. You should not wonder. The cause of this is their ignorance of their [Coptic] language, for the Arabic language spread out among them. No one of them can understand what is read to him in the church in Coptic. They hear but do not understand.<sup>26</sup>

The 10th and 11th centuries represent a transitional period in the shifting process of the Arabisation of Egypt. From that time, we can still find letters written in good Sahidic Coptic alongside others written in Arabic. Some correspondence was in both languages; for example, a Christian villager might write to his Christian neighbour in Coptic and receive a reply in Arabic. Both languages were still in use, even in official documents like marriage contracts, which are considered the very latest Coptic documents.<sup>27</sup> It is also interesting to find Coptic letters written by Muslims to Muslims, such as one sent from a certain ʿAlī to his son Aḥmad and dating to the ninth century.<sup>28</sup> Some were obviously Coptic converts to Islam, or their descendants, who were still able to use Coptic in correspondence, whereas for others, Arab ancestry is not to be ruled out. It is uncertain whether they wrote these letters themselves or if they needed a translator.<sup>29</sup> The Arabic *History of the Patriarchs* offers us further evidence that some Muslims understood

<sup>20</sup> MacCoull 1989, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> Ziadeh 1915–1917, p. 380.

<sup>22</sup> Zaborowski 2003, pp. 112–113. It is interesting that the later manuscripts of this text inserted the term “Copts” alongside the words “Christians” and “Orthodox.” See Zaborowski 2008, pp. 36–38.

<sup>23</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 92; English translation p. 138.

<sup>24</sup> For this source and its authorship see Swanson 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Pseudo-Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ 2000, p. 10; English translation after Swanson 1996, p. 216.

<sup>26</sup> Pseudo-Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ 2000, p. 161. See also Papaconstantinou 2007, pp. 293–295.

<sup>27</sup> MacCoull 1989, pp. 38–39.

<sup>28</sup> Zaborowski 2008, pp. 33–34.

<sup>29</sup> MacCoull 1989, p. 37.

Coptic. Patriarch Yūsāb (830–849) was accused by the bishop of Miṣr (Old Cairo) before the Muslim *qāḍī* (judge). When the patriarch spoke in Coptic to the bishops who were present, some Muslim attendees understood the speech and reported it to the judge.<sup>30</sup> The author of the *History of the Churches and Monasteries* confirms that the inhabitants of a village called Ṭamrīs in Lower Egypt, both Christians and Muslims, spoke Coptic.<sup>31</sup> Thus, we have enough evidence that some Muslims, whether of Egyptian or Arab origin, spoke or understood Coptic, which was still a communication language in a number of places in post-Conquest Egypt, possibly as late as the 11th or 12th century CE.<sup>32</sup>

In the 13th century, a movement began with the aim of saving the Coptic language from extinction. Some well-educated Copts, like Yūḥannā of Samannūd, Yūḥannā of Qalyūb, Ibn al-Duhayrī, Ibn Kātib Qaysar, al-Asʿad and al-Muʿtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl, Ibn al-Rāhib and Athanasius of Qūṣ, composed Coptic-Arabic dictionaries (*sullam*, pl. *salālīm*; Latin: *scala*) and introductions to Coptic grammar (*muqaddima*) to help their fellow citizens learn and understand Coptic.<sup>33</sup> It seems that this movement had no success. The Coptic language was already on the brink of death, and it was too late for the *scala* writers to revive it.<sup>34</sup> These Coptic scholars were of the opinion that the church had to take the initiative to revive Coptic. In the introduction of his book *Bulghat al-Ṭālibīn*, the 14th-century writer Athanasius of Qūṣ, laments the status of the Coptic language in his generation and how it became difficult for the Copts to learn—they read Coptic slowly without understanding its meaning. He accuses the Copts of disregarding their own language more than any other nation:

I noticed that the people in our time in our land, namely the Coptic land and the Egyptian country, forgot their language. It became very hard for them to learn it, and if few people of them learn it with great difficulty in too long time, they can only read its words in incorrect manner without understanding what they say.... because the Arabic language spread out all over this land and because of the domination of the Arab nation on it. I noticed (also) that no other nation neglected its language as we did with our language.<sup>35</sup>

Throughout this whole period of gradual Arabicisation, clerics seem to have had more command of Coptic than laymen, which suggests that the language was at least partly acquired by means of formal, Church-related instruction. Thus, in the abovementioned narrative about Patriarch Yūsāb, in which he spoke to his bishops before the Muslim judge in Coptic, it is not clear whether he did so because he could not express himself in Arabic or so that the judge would not understand what he said to the bishops. Patriarch Cyril II (1078–1092) also blessed people who received communion in Coptic.<sup>36</sup> From the 12th century on, it no longer seemed to be a matter of course that the patriarch could speak or understand Coptic. Coptic knowledge became an advantage for any candidate to the patriarchate and it would be proudly mentioned.<sup>37</sup> On the

<sup>30</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 639.

<sup>31</sup> Ṣamūʿīl al-Sūryānī 1999–2000, vol. 1, p. 59.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Mikhail 2004, p. 978 n. 39.

<sup>33</sup> For *Scala* and Introductions see Sidarus 1997, 2001.

<sup>34</sup> MacCoull 1989, p. 42.

<sup>35</sup> Bauer 1972, p. 245.

<sup>36</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 230; English translation p. 366.

<sup>37</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 36–37; English translation pp. 59–60.

other hand, there is occasional evidence of Coptic as a natural spoken language, or at least of the knowledge of Coptic among less educated laymen. For instance, in the 10th century, a simple carpenter, the father of bishop Michael of Tinnīs, was able to communicate with his bishop in Coptic.<sup>38</sup>

The Coptic language was still considered an important feature of Coptic identity in the 12th century. At the time of patriarch John V (1147–1167), a respected Jew named Abū al-Fakhr converted to Christianity and learned Coptic so that he was able to translate his dispute with the Jews from Hebrew into Coptic.<sup>39</sup> Abū al-Fakhr probably wanted to confirm his identity as a Christian Copt by speaking Coptic, an important feature for a true Copt.

Furthermore, still within the domain of translation, it is significant that until the end of the 10th century Copts did not attempt to translate the Bible or the Gospels into Arabic.<sup>40</sup> In contrast, this task was undertaken by the Melkites in Syria/Palestine in the late eighth to early ninth centuries.<sup>41</sup> It is true that under the patriarchate of Alexander II (705–730) a Coptic monk named Benjamin translated the Bible from Coptic into Arabic for al-Aṣḡagh, the son of the governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān, but this was clearly an isolated case, in which a hostile authority forced the church to provide insight into the text in order to refute it.<sup>42</sup> Another interesting passage concerns al-Wāḍih ibn Rajā’. When this born Muslim converted to Christianity in the 10th century, he asked a priest to bring him the gospels and to translate them for him (orally?) into Arabic.<sup>43</sup> Apparently, no existing Arabic version was available to him at that time. In addition, the instruments of the church, in particular metal utensils, were inscribed in Coptic until the 13th century at least. When an accusation was made against the monks of the Monastery of Saint Macarius to the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–1238) that they had found precious metal objects while digging a well in their monastery, the monks assured the sultan that these objects were donated to the monastery to be used in liturgical services and the dedication was inscribed on every object in the Coptic language. Al-Malik al-Kāmil summoned a converted deacon from Alexandria to translate the inscriptions into Arabic to reveal the truth.<sup>44</sup>

After the Arabicisation of the Egyptian administration in the early eighth century, Coptic employees, as mentioned above, had to learn Arabic to keep their positions. Many of these positions were hereditary. Most of the functionaries tried to keep their positions in the family for

<sup>38</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 134; English translation p. 204.

<sup>39</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 53; English translation p. 90.

<sup>40</sup> Copts used Bible translations made by Jews and other Christian confessions and later modified them to agree with the Coptic (Bohairic) version. This translation is better known as the “Alexandrian Vulgate.” See Kashouh 2012, pp. 205–206; Griffith 2013, pp. 130, 146. Other translations have been made from Coptic, like the translation of the Four Gospels by al-As’ad ibn al-‘Assāl in the 13th century (ed. Moawad 2014). See Kashouh 2012, pp. 258–274.

<sup>41</sup> MacCoull 1989, p. 36; Rubenson 1996, p. 6. For translating the Bible into Arabic in general, see Griffith 2013.

<sup>42</sup> Seybold 1912, p. 134; *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 305.

<sup>43</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 105; English translation p. 157. It is evident that Arabic translations of some parts of the Bible exist from the second half of the eighth century. However, translations made in Egypt are later than those made in Palestine, Syria and Iraq. This narrative of al-Wāḍih ibn Rajā’ does not mean that there was no Arabic translation of the Bible available in Egypt in his time but it indicates that Coptic churches in the 10th century were still using the Coptic version for liturgical purposes. See Griffith 2013, pp. 97–203, esp. 146–149.

<sup>44</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 118–120; English translation pp. 199–201. For Coptic metal objects in general, see Benazeth 1991, 2002.



their son or nephew and would teach him the details of their official tasks.<sup>45</sup> That meant that Coptic children had to learn Arabic in addition to Coptic in their schools. Archaeology offers us much evidence from papyrus and other study material in the form of Coptic/Arabic bilingual writing exercises, confirming that both Arabic and Coptic were taught to Coptic children.<sup>46</sup>

Islamic terminology influenced the Coptic writers too, even in their Arabic writings inside their own Christian community. The usual Coptic sentence “Peace be with you”, used in letters, was often replaced by “Your servant, may God pardon him” (*ghafara allāhu lahu*) which is typical of Islamic writings.<sup>47</sup> In their Arabic works, we find many Islamic expressions and formulas. The Islamic basmala (to say, “In the name of God, Most Gracious, and Most Merciful” [*bism Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*]), which is used by Muslims at the beginning of any speech or written message, letter, or book, was used even in the correspondence between Yūḥannā ibn Šāʿid, one of the writers of the *History of the Patriarchs*, and Patriarch Maqāra II (1102–1128).<sup>48</sup> Other Koranic terms are also to be found in the oldest Christian-Arabic literature, namely in the works of Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. In his refutation of the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria Saʿid ibn Baṭṭīq, he imitates the Koranic verse 21:107 (“And we have not sent you but as a mercy to the worlds”) which describes the sending of the prophet of Islam as a mercy for the people (*rahmatan li-l-ʿālamīn*), and describes the disciples of Christ as being sent as a mercy and clemency from him to the people (*rahmatan minhu wa-raʿfatan li-l-ʿālamīn*).<sup>49</sup> In his letter to the vizier Abū al-Yumn Quzmān ibn Mīnā, as well, Sawīrus quoted verse 3:173 (“Allāh is sufficient for us and most excellent is the Protector”) to end the first chapter of his letter (*huwa ḥasbunā wa-niʿma l-wakīl*).<sup>50</sup> Like most Muslim scholars, who when they give an opinion or an answer to a question say at the end *Allāhu aʿlam* (“God knows it better”), Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ uses the same formula (*Allāhu huwa l-ʿālim*) when he appoints the date of the resurrection of Christ.<sup>51</sup> Other typical Islamic terms like *muḥkam al-taʿwīl*, *tabāraka wa-taʿālā*, *ʿazza wa-jall* are to be found in his book about the councils, *Kitāb al-Majāmiʿ*.<sup>52</sup> In his composition *The History of the Patriarchs*, Mawḥūb ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarrij used Koranic expressions, even in the part he translated from Coptic into Arabic. He describes someone named Marqillus from Damascus who served the church *bukratan wa-aṣīlā* (in the morning and late afternoon), a phrase which is to be found literally in Sūra 25:5, 33:42, 48:9, and 76:25.<sup>53</sup> The well-known theologian Būlus al-Būshī from the 13th century, who was one of the candidates in the patriarchal election, was also influenced by Islamic theological terms, which derived either directly from the Koran or were expressions that became a part of Islamic theology.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Little 1990, pp. 276–277.

<sup>46</sup> MacCoull 1989, p. 40.

<sup>47</sup> MacCoull 1989, pp. 37–38.

<sup>48</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 7–10; English translation pp. 12–17.

<sup>49</sup> Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Al-Radd ʿalā Saʿid ibn Baṭṭīq*, in Chébli 1909, p. 128.

<sup>50</sup> Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Risāla fī Madhāhib al-Naṣārā* § 35 in Samir 2000, p. 603.

<sup>51</sup> Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Al-Radd ʿalā Saʿid ibn Baṭṭīq*, in Chébli 1909, p. 142.

<sup>52</sup> Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kitāb al-Majāmiʿ*, in Leroy and Grébaut 1911, pp. 522, 526, 528, 533, 538, 541; Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalām fī Ṭibb al-Ghamm*, in Ebied and Young 1978, p. 15. For more Islamic expressions used by Sawīrus, see Farag 1979.

<sup>53</sup> Seybold 1912, p. 33.

<sup>54</sup> Talia 1987, pp. 36–41. This not only occurs in Coptic Arabic literature but elsewhere as well. See den Heijer *et al.* 2007, p. 136; den Heijer 2012a; 2012b. For this phenomenon Johannes den Heijer uses the term “Islam-Christian



It is interesting, even if it was a marginal and limited phenomenon in Egypt, to follow some manuscripts in the transitional period which begins with Arabic texts in Coptic script<sup>55</sup> and ends with Coptic texts rendered in Arabic script, a phenomenon which is still found in the liturgical books of the Coptic Church today.<sup>56</sup> Even personal names were sometimes translated from Coptic into Arabic, like Macarius to Sa'īd and Agathon to Abū al-Khayr.<sup>57</sup>

The *Apocalypse* attributed to Samuel of Qalamūn (d. 695) is in fact a work from the eighth or early ninth century but its final form was produced between the second part of the ninth century and the 14th century.<sup>58</sup> The anonymous author of this work put his words into the mouth of the famous Coptic monk Samuel, who was alive during the Arab conquest of Egypt<sup>59</sup> and whose monastery is still located and inhabited in Middle Egypt, to give them authenticity. The Coptic language carries special importance in the *Apocalypse* and has a holy meaning for its author. He considers the abandonment of Coptic a kind of breach of Christianity and Coptic identity. Consequently, he condemns speaking in Arabic, especially in the church, as something that brings a curse and imprecation upon the Copts.<sup>60</sup>

It has been called “a deep irony” that this work, in which the author fulminates against using Arabic, is not preserved in Coptic but only in Arabic.<sup>61</sup> Here, the Coptic language is not presented as just a regular language, but as a holy language. One must not abandon it, since to do so would be to risk receiving execration instead of blessing. The *Apocalypse* gives us a clear image of the Arabicisation of Egypt as perceived in Coptic clerical circles and reinforces the abovementioned statement of the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-īdāh*, who may have lived in the 11th century,<sup>62</sup> the same period in which the *Apocalypse* probably appeared in its final form.

Historical evidence proves that such warnings against using Arabic, especially in the liturgy, had no effect. Although composing hymnographies and poetry in Coptic, in order for them to be used in the ecclesiastical rituals or as praise for the Coptic language, continued up to a late period<sup>63</sup>—for example, the “Triadon” from the 14th century<sup>64</sup>—Coptic anaphora and lectionaries are among the earliest texts translated into Arabic in the 10th century, together with apocalypses, apocryphal and some hagiographical texts, and the canons of the church. Nevertheless,

religious literature”. He suggests a confessionally inclusive cultural attitude, in which the use of expressions deriving from Islamic usage was by no means felt to be inappropriate in an otherwise firmly articulated Christian context.

<sup>55</sup> For some examples, see Evelyn-White 1973, vol. 1, pp. 231–269; Burmester 1965–1966. See also Richter 2009, p. 419.

<sup>56</sup> This phenomenon was limited in Egypt compared to Arabic texts written in Syriac script. For general observations on writing languages in the script of other languages see den Heijer and Schmidt 2014.

<sup>57</sup> MacCoull 1984, pp. 64–65; 1989, p. 39; Mikhail 2004, p. 979.

<sup>58</sup> Nau 1915–1917; MacCoull 1984, p. 66; 1989, p. 41; Rubenson 1996, p. 7; van Lent 2000, pp. 663–667; Zaborowski 2003, p. 103; Papaconstantinou 2007, pp. 274, 280–288; Zaborowski 2008, pp. 20–21. For a later dating during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim (996–1021), see Iskander 1998.

<sup>59</sup> See his *Life* in Coptic and Arabic, Alcock 1983; 1996–1998.

<sup>60</sup> Ziadeh 1915–1917, pp. 379–381, 384; partly English translation in MacCoull 1984, p. 66. See also Papaconstantinou 2007, pp. 274–277.

<sup>61</sup> MacCoull 1984, p. 66. Jason Zaborowski (2008, pp. 17, 28 n. 54) suggests that this text “could have been composed originally in Arabic.”

<sup>62</sup> Swanson 2011.

<sup>63</sup> MacCoull 1989, p. 41.

<sup>64</sup> Ed. Lemm 1903; German translation Nagel 1983.

Coptic remained the official language of the Coptic Church until the 11th century.<sup>65</sup> The process of translating the Coptic tradition into Arabic ended with work of high quality and competence on the patristic texts and Church Fathers in the 13th and 14th centuries.<sup>66</sup> In fact, translating the Coptic heritage into Arabic preserved many texts from being lost. Many Coptic works became known or complete only through their Arabic translation in the medieval period. Such translations also made it possible to follow the *Nachleben* and the development of this literature by comparing the Coptic versions with their Arabic translations, which often contained additional materials from other sources.<sup>67</sup>

### Conversion and Martyrdom

Not only the historiographical sources but also the Coptic and Copto-Arabic literary sources in general are interested in narratives concerning conversion to Christianity and later to the anti-Chalcedonian party. The authors of these works considered converting to Christianity or the anti-Chalcedonian faith a victory and evidence of the rightness of that religion or belief.

Conversion and martyrdom are often connected with each other. A convert who refuses to return to his old religion can be put to death and thus becomes a martyr in the eyes of his new coreligionists. The acts of the Christian martyrs during the persecution up to 313 focus on three features: the high number of martyrs, the high social rank of the martyrs, and the supernatural phenomena that lead to sudden conversion. When Christians were still a minority in Roman Egypt it was important for the authors of these martyrdoms to highlight and sometimes exaggerate the high number of martyrs despite the persecution. It was a challenge to persecutors and meant to stress the divine support the Christians enjoyed. Most martyr stories have a similar construction. They contain a typical dialogue between the martyr and his persecutor in which the martyr insults the governor and his idols. Some martyrdom texts go on to describe the tortures the martyr faces in detail, as well as the heavenly healing he receives. In many cases the martyr convinces his fellow prisoners, or even the soldiers who punish him, to believe in Christ and become martyrs themselves. The martyrdom of the Egyptian saint Paphnutius of Denderah is a good example.<sup>68</sup> Such stories coined the Coptic Church as a martyrs' church throughout its whole history.

Before the end of the fourth century, Christians became the majority of the Egyptian population. Henceforth, news about converts did not occupy the same space in the Christian literature from Egypt as before, because there was no longer a need to prove or to stress the superiority of Christianity. The few post-Diocletian conversion stories do not contain the typical descriptions of martyrs' actions during the persecution. The *Life of Aaron* narrates the beginning of Christianity in Aswan and on the island of Philae during the patriarchate of Athanasius (328–373).<sup>69</sup> It also

<sup>65</sup> Rubenson 1996, pp. 6–8.

<sup>66</sup> Rubenson 1996, pp. 12–13.

<sup>67</sup> Rubenson 1990–1991, pp. 33–35.

<sup>68</sup> Balestri and Hyvernat 1907, pp. 110–119.

<sup>69</sup> For a detailed study about Christianity at Philae see Dijkstra 2008, pp. 125–349. For a general overview see Moawad 2013a.

reports on the conflict between Christians and pagans there. Two of the bishops of Philae, Mark and Isaiah, who are also proved in historical sources, were the sons of the pagan priest of the island and converted to Christianity. However, the story of their conversion is different from earlier stories of this kind. The *Life of Aaron* narrates how Macedonius, the bishop of Philae, went to the temple, chopped off the head of the falcon worshipped there and burned it. The two sons of the priest escaped to the desert for fear of their father and the people of the island. A few days later Macedonius found them. They accompanied him to the place where he lived; they were baptised and received Christian names.<sup>70</sup> The story shows little interest in the conversion itself, but great interest in highlighting the victory of Christianity. The *Life of Aaron* does not tell why Mark and Isaiah converted to Christianity, nor does it mention that the bishop had taught them anything about Christianity before he baptised them. Christian belief does not play any role in the narrative.

Conversion stories after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE aim to be propaganda for one or the other party: pro- or anti-Chalcedonian. Such stories deal with individual cases.<sup>71</sup> The *Apophthegmata Patrum*, a collection of the sayings of the desert fathers with a pro-Chalcedonian tendency, narrates a story about a simple, pro-Chalcedonian monk in Kellia named Jacob. The anti-Chalcedonian monks there speak with Jacob in an attempt to win him over to their party. Jacob becomes helpless. He decides to fast and pray until God reveals to him where the true faith is. Forty days later, Jacob sees the Lord in a vision and the Lord tells him to remain where he is. After the vision he finds himself at the church of the pro-Chalcedonians.<sup>72</sup> On the other side, John Rufus, the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Maiuma in Gaza, mentions in his *Plerophoria* (written between 512 and 518) a similar legend about an anti-Chalcedonian woman from Alexandria. She was confused and did not know in which church she should receive communion. In a vision, the Lord told her to receive communion from the anti-Chalcedonians.<sup>73</sup>

In some cases, conversion to the pro- or anti-Chalcedonian party was for political expediency. The powerful, anti-Chalcedonian landowning Apion family from Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt is the best example. In 518 CE, Apion I converted to the pro-Chalcedonian church, but a few generations later the Apion family returned to the anti-Chalcedonian church.<sup>74</sup>

Another reason for inter-religious conversion was a disagreement with one's own church, but that did not necessarily mean a conviction to the other confession. Thus, in a much later period, Marqus ibn al-Qunbar, a Coptic priest in Lower Egypt (d. 1208), tried to recover some ancient liturgical practices for the Coptic Church. One of these practices was the sacrament of auricular confession to a priest, which had fallen out of practice in the 12th century. Patriarch Mark III (1167–1189) and the Coptic bishops refused the opinions of Ibn al-Qunbar and sent him into exile at the Monastery of Saint Antony. When he showed repentance and swore that he would not mention these opinions again, he was returned to his office. Later he did not keep his word and converted to the Melkite (pro-Chalcedonian) Church. There he quarrelled with the Melkite

<sup>70</sup> *Life of Aaron* §§ 31–32, 37–43, in Budge 1915, pp. 445–450; English translation Vivian 1993, pp. 87–92.

<sup>71</sup> Mikhail 2014, pp. 54–55.

<sup>72</sup> *Apophthegmata Patrum Alphabeticum* 926, Phocas 1, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 65, col. 431–434; English translation Ward 1984, pp. 240–241.

<sup>73</sup> John Rufus, *Plerophoria* § 86, in Nau 1911, pp. 139–140.

<sup>74</sup> Mikhail 2014, p. 55.

patriarch and one of his bishops. Subsequently, he went to the Coptic patriarch and asked him to accept him again, but the patriarch refused his request. When the Melkite patriarch heard about this, he summoned Ibn al-Qunbar and sent him to a Melkite monastery where he lived until he died.<sup>75</sup>

It was common for every party to demand from converts a written declaration in which they confirmed their refusal of the faith of the other party. Both the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch Timothy II Aelurus (457–480) and the pro-Chalcedonian patriarch John V the Almsgiver (610–616) requested a written denouncement from converts.<sup>76</sup> The post-Chalcedonian Coptic sources offer a typical scenario of how the soldiers forced adherents of the anti-Chalcedonian church, mostly monks or bishops, to sign the Chalcedonian creed, which was often confused with the Tome of Leo. These Coptic sources offer three versions of this scenario, all of them guaranteeing the anti-Chalcedonian monk/bishop a heroic role. They all attest that the Coptic monk/bishop refuses to sign the Chalcedonian creed, but they differ from each other in how the scene ends. In the first version, the monk/bishop is put to death and becomes a martyr; a good example of this type is the bishop Macarius of Tkōou.<sup>77</sup> In the second version, the monk/bishop endures many tortures but can be saved from death. He becomes a confessor, like Samuel of Qalamūn.<sup>78</sup> In the third version, the monk/bishop performs a miracle and convinces his persecutors of the anti-Chalcedonian belief. This type can be found in *The Life of Longinus*.<sup>79</sup>

After the Arab conquest, conversion to the Melkite confession became rare or ceased entirely, since conversion to Islam became the better alternative for those who sought advantages. However, in the first century under Muslim rule many Melkites (and other sects like the Acephali) joined the Coptic Church, including Melkite bishops who mostly kept their office after conversion. The conditions of conversion became easier during the patriarchate of Michael I (744–768).<sup>80</sup>

According to the chronicle *by John of Nikiou*, some Copts converted to Islam as soon as Muslims entered Egypt and helped them in despoiling the possessions of fugitive Christians.<sup>81</sup> It seems that this first generation of converts left a bad impression. In the early period under Muslim rule, converts to Islam were scorned and detested by their families and neighbours. This attitude changed, however, after the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>82</sup> Even Coptic saints did not refuse to deal with Coptic converts and to give them assistance. In his secular history *al-Nahj al-Sadīd*, the Coptic historian al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il mentions some miracles performed by his

<sup>75</sup> *The History of the Churches and Monasteries*, in Evetts 1895, pp. 12–22, English translation pp. 20–43; Graf 1923; Samir 1995; Swanson 2006, pp. 75–78; 2010, pp. 79–81.

<sup>76</sup> Mikhail 2014, p. 55 and n. 21 p. 294.

<sup>77</sup> *Panegyric on Macarius of Tkōou* XV.4–8, in Johnson 1980, vol. 1, pp. 118–123, vol. 2, pp. 92–96; Amélineau 1888–1895, pp. 155–158; Moawad 2010, pp. 99–100, 149–150; 2013b, pp. 257–258.

<sup>78</sup> Isaac the Presbyter, *Life of Samuel of Qalamūn*, Sahidic version, in Alcock 1983, pp. 6–7, English translation pp. 79–81; Arabic version: Alcock 1996–1998, pt. 1, pp. 331–336.

<sup>79</sup> *The Life of Longinus* §§ 29–37, in Orlandi 1975, pp. 78–89; English translation Vivian 2005, pp. 267–273; German translation Moawad 2010, pp. 193–196; modern Arabic translation Moawad 2013b, pp. 334–339; *Panegyric on Macarius of Tkōou* IX.1–7, in Johnson 1980, vol. 1, pp. 70–78, vol. 2, pp. 54–59; Moawad 2010, pp. 87–89, 129–132; 2013b, pp. 239–241.

<sup>80</sup> Mikhail 2014, pp. 60–62.

<sup>81</sup> John of Nikiou, *Chronicle* § 114.1; English translation Charles 1981, p. 182.

<sup>82</sup> Mikhail 2014, pp. 68–70.

contemporary, the Coptic saint Baršūmā al-ʿUryān (d. 1317). One of those miracles involved a Muslim landowner of Coptic origin named Shams al-Dīn ibn Bahāʾ al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā (son of John). He visited Saint Baršūmā and asked him to come and bless his fields. Baršūmā went with him and fulfilled his request.<sup>83</sup> The unedited *Life of Saint Marqus al-Anṭūnī* (1296–1386) gives other examples of good communication between Coptic spiritual fathers and converts. The unique manuscript of the *Life* preserved in the Monastery of Saint Paul at the Red Sea contains about 34 miracles performed by Marqus al-Anṭūnī. Three of them (nos. 13, 14 and 15) were intended to help two Coptic converts who functioned as high-ranking officials during the rule of the Mamlūk sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq: Karīm al-Dīn ibn Mukānis and al-Saʿīd Naṣr Allāh ibn al-Baqarī, who were also mentioned by the well-known Muslim historian al-Maqrīzī and others. Despite their own or their family's conversion, the Coptic monk Marqus al-Anṭūnī did not reject them and did not hesitate to communicate with them.<sup>84</sup>

After the Arab conquest in 641 CE, the most popular narrative is that of al-Wāḍiḥ ibn Rajāʾ in the 10th century, preserved in *The Arabic History of the Patriarchs*.<sup>85</sup> This story was probably written down in Coptic by Michael of Tinnīs, who is responsible for the biographies of the Coptic patriarchs in the period from 880 to 1046, and translated into Arabic by Mawḥūb ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarrij. *The History of the Patriarchs* says that al-Wāḍiḥ wrote his own biography, but the narrative of Michael of Tinnīs is based on a personal contact with the deacon who met al-Wāḍiḥ before his death and buried him. Al-Wāḍiḥ was a young conservative Muslim who one day scorned a Muslim who converted to Christianity. The convert predicted that al-Wāḍiḥ himself would convert someday to Christianity. Afterward, al-Wāḍiḥ made the pilgrimage to Mecca. On the return trip to Egypt he was separated from his caravan and got lost in the desert. Saint Mercurius appeared to him as a horseman and brought him to his church in Miṣr. After al-Wāḍiḥ told the servant of the church his story, he requested that he be hidden and that a well-educated priest be brought to teach him the principles of Christianity and read the Bible to him. When the priest came, he baptised al-Wāḍiḥ and named him Būlus (Paul). When his family saw him in the church, they tried to convince him to convert back to Islam. When he refused to obey them, they expelled him. He went to Wādī al-Naṭrūn and became a monk, but other monks told him that God would not accept his conversion unless he announced his new faith in public in Miṣr.

When al-Wāḍiḥ reached his city, his father saw him and imprisoned him without food or water. He ordered al-Wāḍiḥ's brother to rape his concubine before him. His father also commanded one of his servants to drown al-Wāḍiḥ's son. As the father still had no success in changing al-Wāḍiḥ's mind, he delivered him to the court, which released him. Thereupon, al-Wāḍiḥ went to Ra's al-Khalij in Cairo and built a new church. He then returned to the desert where he was ordained as a priest. When his father found out, he hired some Bedouins to kill his son, but al-Wāḍiḥ escaped to the church of Sandafā in Lower Egypt, where he died and was buried before he was caught. It is clear how proud Michael of Tinnīs was to narrate this story. He tried to show

<sup>83</sup> Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *al-Nahj al-saḍīd*, in Blochet 1919–1929, vol. 3, pp. 164–165.

<sup>84</sup> Swanson 2013.

<sup>85</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 101–113; English translation pp. 151–170.

that al-Wāḍiḥ believed in Christ not only because of the visions he saw, but also because he was strongly convinced of the Christian faith.<sup>86</sup>

Jews as well as Muslims converted to Christianity; however, it seems to have been less interesting for the authors to mention this than to tell the stories of Muslim converts. One reported case is that of the abovementioned Abū al-Fakhr ibn Azhar, a respected Jew who converted to Christianity and learned Coptic quickly. He was persecuted by both Jews and Muslims. Nevertheless, he lived in Miṣr for 40 years amongst the Jews who in vain provoked the rulers against him.<sup>87</sup> He wrote a lost historical work which is quoted by Ibn al-Rāhib and Ibn al-ʿAmīd in their historical works.

On the other hand, the authors of the *History of the Patriarchs* and its sources emphasised in other parts of the work how most of the Christians converted to Islam to get financial benefits, or that they were obligated to do so.<sup>88</sup> The same source offers a statistic for those who converted to Islam during the patriarchate of Michael I (761–767) to avoid paying the poll tax.<sup>89</sup> Under the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847–861), discrimination against Christians meant that many converted to Islam. The author mentions the reasons for which those people denied their faith and makes it clear for the reader that it did not happen because they were persuaded by their new religion; rather, some loved worldly positions and others converted on account of the poverty they suffered.<sup>90</sup>

An Arabic homily by pseudo-Theophilus also deals with conversion to Islam, but it classifies the apostates in two categories. The first includes those who deny Christ without regret; the second, Christians who convert to Islam but still confess Christ secretly. The anonymous author of the homily put his point of view in a dialogue between Athanasius of Alexandria and the Apostle Paul to gain credibility.<sup>91</sup> According to this homily the main reason for conversion was association with the nations, that is, the Muslims. Other sources mention the same reason. The best example is the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit*, where the author demonstrates that John mixed with Muslims and learned their ways.<sup>92</sup>

The biography of Patriarch Abraham ibn Zurʿa (975–978), which will be discussed in more detail below, confirms this interpretation. The scribe or redactor of the later, expanded version of this biography attests that most of the converts were still Christian and visited the church in secret, having converted without being convinced of Islam but rather under duress or because of the ephemeral things of this world.<sup>93</sup> The chronicle of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, a Melkite historian from the 11th century, notes that some Muslims brought accusations to the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (996–1021), stating that Christians were celebrating mass in their homes.

<sup>86</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 104–105; English translation 157.

<sup>87</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 53; English translation p. 90.

<sup>88</sup> See also Anawati 1990, pp. 239–241.

<sup>89</sup> Seybold 1912, pp. 164–165. See also *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 370–371.

<sup>90</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 4; English translation p. 6. See also *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 6, 27; English translation pp. 8, 39.

<sup>91</sup> Pseudo-Theophilus, *A Homily on the Honor of St. Peter and St. Paul*, in Fleisch 1935–1936, p. 397.

<sup>92</sup> Zaborowski 2005, pp. 58.

<sup>93</sup> *The Life of Patriarch Abraham ibn Zurʿa*, in Leroy 1909–1910, pt. 2, 36–37; French translation p. 29.



Among them there were a number of Christians who had converted to Islam.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, some Islamic sources make reference to certain Coptic converts who having denied their faith under duress or to escape persecution, as well as to keep their positions and wealth, retained their Christianity in secret or at least showed sympathy toward Copts and supported them. Such converted Copts were suspected by Muslims to be infidels and their faith was considered to be insincere. Some of them were even accused of converting in order to blaspheme against Islam and lead Muslims astray.<sup>95</sup>

Nevertheless, it is hard to find enough evidence to allow us to generalise that this was the Islamic point of view toward Coptic converts whom the Muslims in the Mamluk period named *masālīma* (that is, “those who converted to Islam to save themselves”). The same sources supply other evidence that some converts came into their new religion sincerely, so that some of them prevented Christians from entering their houses and others encouraged Copts to deny their faith and to convert to Islam.<sup>96</sup> The Muslim historian al-Kindī from the 10th century mentions in his book *Qudāt Miṣr* (*The Judges of Egypt*) a narrative about some Copts called *ahl al-ḥaras* in Lower Egypt who converted to Islam at the beginning of the ninth century.<sup>97</sup> To avoid mistreatment and to gain prestige in Muslim society, they decided to reinvent their genealogy by claiming to hail from an Arab tribe named Ḥawtak. To fulfil this wish they had to pay 6000 dinars to the judge al-ʿUmarī, who accepted the false witness of some Arabs in their favour. Al-Kindī also quoted some Arab poets who satirised such Copts, who suddenly wanted to be Arabs, for their arrogance and pride.

From this narrative it is clear that, on the one hand, conversion to Islam was not sufficient to make the converts equal to their Muslim overlords.<sup>98</sup> It prompted the converts to sever all relations with their Coptic community and to associate themselves to the rulers’ class by creating a new ancestry for themselves. On the other hand, it is well known that, despite the Islamic principle of equality, Arab Muslims often humiliated Muslims of different origin, presumably because they knew that their motive for conversion was something other than a strong belief.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, they tried by any means possible to prevent them from achieving their aim. The successor of al-ʿUmarī, the judge, refused the request of those converts of *ahl al-ḥaras*. He did not acknowledge their new ancestry and destroyed the document drawn up for them by his predecessor. Al-Kindī did not forget to quote the poets who rejoiced at the misfortune of those converts.

<sup>94</sup> Kratchkovsky 1997, pp. 432–433.

<sup>95</sup> Petry 1981, pp. 272–273; 1991, p. 618.

<sup>96</sup> Little 1990; 1976, pp. 557–558, 561. Not only the converts of Christian origin but also the converted Jews were accused of the same. See Cohen and Somekh 1999, p. 132.

<sup>97</sup> Al-Kindī, *Qudāt Miṣr*, in Guest 1912, pp. 397–400, 412–414.

<sup>98</sup> Lapidus 1972, p. 255.

<sup>99</sup> This phenomenon is also known elsewhere in the early Islamic period. After the spread of Islam outside of *al-Ḥijāz* (the Arabian Peninsula) and the conversion of non-Arabs to Islam, Arab Muslims claimed superiority for themselves over non-Arab Muslims. To counter this tendency, some non-Arab Muslims established a movement in the eighth century which became known by the term *Shuʿubiyya* (peoples) and propagated equality among Muslims regardless of their origin. For more details, see Enderwitz 1997.



Converting to Islam or Christianity was like a competition between the two groups. Muslims tried to force Christians to convert to Islam, according to *The History of the Patriarchs*.<sup>100</sup> They tried to compel even Patriarch Zacharias (1004–1032) to deny his faith.<sup>101</sup> The authors of the history did not forget to mention many cases of Christian converts to Islam who felt regret and wanted to return to their old faith.<sup>102</sup> They were also not ashamed to mention that in many cases the severe behaviour of certain Christians, even patriarchs, and conflicts among the Christians themselves were a reason for conversion to Islam.<sup>103</sup>

The conversion stories went so far as to have the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz (972–975) convert to Christianity after a debate with the Coptic Patriarch Abraham ibn Zur'a (975–978). The biography of Abraham, which was probably written in the 13th century, has been shown to be a later elaboration of the *Vita* of the same patriarch preserved in the *History of the Patriarchs* composed by Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij in the 11th century. He had in turn translated it from the Coptic version written by Bishop Michael of Tinnis in the mid-11th century.<sup>104</sup> A comparison of the various manuscripts containing this narrative leads us to detect at least two phases in the development of the legend.<sup>105</sup> The narrative begins with a dispute between the Jew Mūsā, a friend of the vizier Ya'qūb ibn Killis who converted from Judaism to Islam, and Bishop Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa' in the court of the Caliph and in the presence of the Coptic patriarch. The dispute ends in the Coptic party's favour. Thereupon, the vizier tries to take revenge upon the Christians. He convinces the Caliph to let the Christians apply the verse mentioned in the Bible, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you," (Matthew 17:20) to prove the rightness of their religion. Up to this point the two sources in which this narrative is preserved—namely, *The History of the Patriarchs*<sup>106</sup> and the biography of Patriarch Abraham ibn Zur'a<sup>107</sup>—agree with each other.<sup>108</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs* tells about the miracle of moving the mountain al-Muqaṭṭam in Cairo when the Copts repeated "*Kyrie eleison*" ("Lord, have mercy") after their patriarch:

The king al-Mu'izz and his companions stood on one side and all the Christians and the patriarch, on the other side.... And they cried out "O Lord, have mercy" many times. Then, he (Abraham) commanded them to be silent and he prostrated himself upon the ground and all (who were) with him prostrated themselves three times, and every time that he lifted up his face and made (the sign of) the cross, the mountain was lifted up from the ground. When they prostrated themselves, the mountain came to its base. The king al-Mu'izz feared greatly and the king and the Muslims cried

<sup>100</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 1, pt. 4, pp. 641–643, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 60–61, 122, English translation pp. 87–90; vol. 2, pt. 3, pp. 170–171, English translation pp. 257–259; vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 52, English translation p. 88.

<sup>101</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 131; English translation p. 199.

<sup>102</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 135, English translation p. 205; vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 118, English translation pp. 197–198.

<sup>103</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 155, English translation p. 234; vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 34, English translation p. 56.

<sup>104</sup> den Heijer 1994, pp. 195–196. The primitive recension of the *Life of Aḫrāḥām ibn Zur'a* is preserved in the MS BN ar. 303, ff. 188r–200r.

<sup>105</sup> den Heijer 1994, pp. 198–199. See also Mikhail 2014, pp. 249–253.

<sup>106</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 93–97; English translation pp. 137–145.

<sup>107</sup> Leroy 1909–1910.

<sup>108</sup> For this narrative and the person of Ya'qūb ibn Killis, see also den Heijer 1994, pp. 192–196; 2004, pp. 49–57; Cohen and Somekh 1999; Shenoda 2007; Boutros 2013.

out: "God is great. There is no God beside Thee!" Then the king al-Muʿizz said to the patriarch after the third time: "Enough, O patriarch, I have recognized, indeed, the correctness of thy faith."<sup>109</sup>

The later version of this biography of Patriarch Abraham offers a different version of this narrative, which presents the Christian faith as clearly superior to Islam and Judaism. The adherents of both religions failed to move the mountain while the Copts succeeded easily. It reminds one of the narrative of Elijah and how he challenged the priests of Baal to convince the people that the Lord is God (1 Kings 18:17–39). The anonymous scribe or redactor of this later version did not forget to embellish his narrative with some emotionally loaded expressions to draw the attention of his readers:

The King, accompanied by all the people, went out to the mountain. He (the king) said to them (the Copts): "I want from you to move this mountain from its place and to fix it in another place. It should be not impossible for you, as your Gospel says." They said to him: "We wish from your majesty justice." He said to them: "I will do what you wish. I granted you a respite of three days. What do you want from me?" They answered him and said: "We wish that our Muslim lords pray first and call the mountain (to move), and after them the Jews at last." I (sic)<sup>110</sup> want to fill their request so that they will have no other pretence. They [the Muslims] said (to him): "As you wish." The Muslims performed the ritual ablution and purified themselves with water, for they claimed that they can be purified through water. They called to prayer and said "God is Great." They lengthened their prayer. Then, one of their chiefs, who was considered by them to be an ideal, cried very loud and ordered the mountain to move, but it did not move from its place. Then, the Jews went forward with their rabbi and prayed. They lengthened their prayer so that the ruler became bored. After that, they called the mountain in one voice that it should move from its place, but it did not. The Muslims went on to the king and said to him: "O our lord, is this verse written in the Muslims' (book) or in the Christians'?" He said: "In the Christians' one." Then, they said to him: "Why did you let the Muslims be disgraced under the unbelievers?" He said to them: "It is not a disgrace unless the mountain moves and changes its place through the prayers of the Christians. But if it does not move, you will see what I will do. By the religion of Islam, I will not let any Christian live, not (a child) of two days old, but I will put them to the sword, capture their women, cause their children to be orphans, and purify the whole land from them. Now, they have no excuse more." After that, he called the patriarch to appear before him and said to him: "Do you have any other wish?" He said: "No, our lord." He said: "Then, why do you let us wait for a long time? Pray and order the mountain (to move)!" At that moment, the patriarch ordered the whole folk to cry with a loud voice (and say) "Kyrie Eleison" (Lord have mercy). Then, they cried in one voice "Kyrie Eleison" four hundred times. After that, they burned incense and said the absolution.... The father, the patriarch, cried...and said: "I order you, blessed mountain, by him who established you and confirm you in this place to move from this site and to come to our near-by! You should not hurt any body of the creation of God." The mountain moved immediately from its place and came to them piece by piece. Then, the king cried: "O patriarch, stop it unless the people perish and it eradicates them!" Then he ordered it to stand in its place. It did not move any more. Those who saw and looked (this miracle) witnessed and said that when the mountain moved, it caused clatter and great concussion so that the people thought that it was the Day of Resurrection, and every pregnant woman in Miṣr and the villages around it miscarried. The people imagined that the heaven fell on the earth. After that, the king ordered the patriarch to return home. He, together with his people, went home in respect and honour. Their gladness and pleasure could not be described.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 96; English translation pp. 143–144.

<sup>110</sup> It seems that a sentence after the previous speech between the caliph and the Copts is lost, for the speech is suddenly between the caliph and the Muslims.

<sup>111</sup> Leroy 1909–1910, pt. 1, pp. 398–399.

The scribe or redactor of the later, expanded version of the Life of Abraham ibn Zur'a was not satisfied to end his narrative like *The History of the Patriarchs*, but he had al-Mu'izz, the Fatimid caliph in Egypt and North Africa, convert to Christianity and become a monk. After the miracle of the mountain, al-Mu'izz called the patriarch to ask him to explain the Christian faith, in particular the Trinity and the Incarnation. The interesting story ends by stating that al-Mu'izz "went out through a secret door of the citadel. He disguised himself and came to a monastery where he was baptised and became a monk."<sup>112</sup> The same source contains an important witness that until the time of al-Mu'izz, there was no mass conversion to Islam and the Christians remained the majority of the population.<sup>113</sup> The author had the patriarch make a daring statement before the Caliph that no one converted to Islam voluntarily, and those Copts who converted to Islam did so because of fear or to get material benefits. Furthermore, many of them were still Christians and visited the church secretly.<sup>114</sup>

We can easily notice that the Coptic writers dealt with the subject of "conversion" very carefully. They avoided discussing any religious matters or mentioning any details of dogma in order to avoid any confrontation with Islamic society (the biography of Patriarch Abraham should be considered an exception in the corpus of Christian Arabic literature of Egypt). They were satisfied with explaining that Christians are not heathens and they do not believe in three gods.<sup>115</sup> This careful treatment is not to be found in the much earlier *Chronicle of John of Nikiou*. It is a matter of course that John was bolder than the later sources because he wrote his work in a language that the Arabs could not understand. He might also have expected that the Islamic invasion would be brought to an end like Roman and Byzantine rule. Therefore, he dared to describe the Muslims as "idolaters" and the prophet of Islam as a "beast."<sup>116</sup>

In the 13th century, Coptic functioned as a secret language which gave the author liberty to express his feelings toward Muslims and about persecution by the government. The *Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit*, who converted to Islam and was beheaded because he wanted to convert back to his Christian faith, was deliberately written in Coptic to avoid any consequences resulting from expressing such opinions against the Islamic majority and to protect those Christians and their supporters who were involved in the matter. It is clear that the author of this narrative planned to keep his text hidden because he was afraid of being betrayed and punished if anyone understood what he had written, especially in those passages where he describes the Muslims as a very evil nation, adulterers and sinners. He also desired to protect certain individuals involved in the matter, such as the ruler of Pepleu who "was loving to the Christians...and especially...those who blasphemed he will return to their faith."<sup>117</sup>

<sup>112</sup> *The Life of Patriarch Abraham ibn Zur'a*, in Leroy 1909–1910, pt. 2, p. 40. See also den Heijer 1994, p. 198.

<sup>113</sup> See also Mikhail 2004, pp. 977–978. For the Islamisation of Egypt in general see Mouton 2003.

<sup>114</sup> *The Life of Patriarch Abraham ibn Zur'a*, in Leroy 1909–1910, pt. 2, pp. 36–37.

<sup>115</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 101–102; English translation pp. 152–153.

<sup>116</sup> John of Nikiou, *Chronicle*, §§ 121:10–11; English translation Charles 1981, p. 201.

<sup>117</sup> Takla 1999, pp. 206–208; Zaborowski 2005, pp. 12–13, 29–30.

This narrative and others mentioned above demonstrate that the Coptic language was until the 13th century still a considerable element of the Egyptian Christian identity.<sup>118</sup> Ideally at least, a true Copt had to know Coptic, and a good patriarch should care for Coptic schools and make sure that the pupils could read and speak Coptic.

Hagiographies of the so-called neo-martyrs were an invitation for all Copts to keep their faith, even if they were obligated to defend it with their blood. Such narratives were considered to be a kind of victory which should be read with pride. In *The Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* we read as follows: "Listen today, O my beloved ones, to the voice of the psalmist David who psalmodizes with us saying, the right hand of the Lord did a great thing.... Come all today, O believers and sons of the baptism so that we may bear the sweet yoke of our good and true divine Savior."<sup>119</sup>

As is expected, such Copto-Arabic sources offer us only one side of the process of conversion. They present the stories of the martyrs as exemplary models of a good Christian who is ready to sacrifice everything and even himself for his faith. The martyrdom of Abū Najāḥ is a good example.<sup>120</sup> He was a Christian secretary (*kātib*) in the state administration under the reign of al-Ḥākim (996–1021). After he refused to convert to Islam he was tortured and whipped until he died. Michael of Tinnīs endeavoured to show the courage and the stable faith of the "Orthodox Christian" Abū Najāḥ. He quoted Abū Najāḥ's speech to his family before his martyrdom: "I am ready to die for the Name of the Lord Christ.... Seek not this transitory glory and lose the everlasting and eternal glory of the Lord Christ." It was like a message from Michael to every Christian to imitate the example of Abū Najāḥ. At the same time Michael shows the cruelty and inhumanity of al-Ḥākim who "endeavored by every kind of inducement and threat to turn him away from his religion," but he could not achieve his aim. Then he ordered that Abū Najāḥ be scourged even after his death.<sup>121</sup>

This ideal picture of a Christian believer was not the general rule, which is a reason why the author of the *History of the Patriarchs* narrates it in such great detail. However, when the same source mentions conversion to Islam, it provides no details, because it is the opposite of the purpose for which this work was written. On the other hand, some Islamic sources mention how certain rich and mighty Christians did not care about their religion and were ready to give it up without concern. The Muslim historian al-Maqrīzī (1364–1441) narrates an event that occurred during the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290–1293), who gave Christian employees in the state administration the choice to convert to Islam or be killed. They chose to convert to Islam in order to stay alive and keep their positions. This attitude is not strange, because it happened many times before, but we have to wonder about the reaction of one of the employees, named al-Makīn ibn al-Suqā'ī, who said: "Which procurer will choose death for this excremental religion? I swear by God, a religion for which we must be killed and die should be denied. God might give it no peace. Tell us which (religion) you choose (for us) that we convert to it."<sup>122</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Zaborowski 2005, pp. 4, 12.

<sup>119</sup> Zaborowski 2005, pp. 38–41.

<sup>120</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 122–123; English translation pp. 184–185.

<sup>121</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 122–123; English translation 185.

<sup>122</sup> Zaynahum and al-Sharqāwī 1998, vol. 3, p. 779.

## Apologetics and Religious Dialogue

Arabic sources from the Coptic milieu preserved a few of the religious dialogues or disputations between Muslims and Christians, which of course offer the pro-Christian point of view. Most such apologetics and debates in these sources cannot be considered pure historical events, but are rather a mixture of history and legend. They get their importance from the fact that they reflect the attitude and the way of thinking of their writers or composers and naturally the mentality of the Copts of that time.<sup>123</sup>

A well-known example of such a controversy between the adherents of the two religions deals with a provocation of Bishop Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa' by the Muslim chief judge. It was Friday when a dog passed by both of them. The Judge asked Sawirus whether the dog was Christian or Muslim. Sawirus told him that "today is Friday on which the Christians fast and do not eat meat, and when they break (their) fast in the evening, they drink *nabīdh* [wine], but the Muslims do not fast on it (Friday) and do not drink *nabīdh* on it, but eat meat on it. Put before it (the dog) meat and *nabīdh*, and if it eats the meat, it will be Muslim, and if it does not eat it, but drinks the *nabīdh*, then it will be Christian." The narrative ends that the attendees marvelled at Sawirus' wisdom and at the strength of his answer.<sup>124</sup> Apart from the authenticity of this narrative it reflects the kind of mind-set prevalent in those days.

Much of the time, throughout the history of Islamic Egypt and in contrast to the Muslims, who had the right to accuse Christians of unbelief and distortion of the Bible, the Copts had no opportunity to express themselves freely, to defend their faith and refute Islamic dogma. The Copts did not allocate any works to refuting Islamic belief explicitly,<sup>125</sup> but they occasionally tried to do so by insinuation, communicating between the lines without referring directly to any Islamic dogma. There were three main topics of criticism by Muslims of Christians: the distortion of the Bible, the Trinity and the Incarnation. Therefore, we find that many writings of the Copts from that time treat these themes in an apologetical way; in particular, the last two subjects, such as in the work of Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa' *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿAql*,<sup>126</sup> the book by Būlus al-Būshī al-Tathlith wa-l-Tajassud,<sup>127</sup> and the book of al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl al-Tathlith wa-l-Ittiḥād.<sup>128</sup> In the narrative of al-Wāḍiḥ ibn Rajā', a speech occurs between the protagonist and a Muslim convert to Christianity. This dialogue highlights the Trinity and how Christians and Muslims thought about it.<sup>129</sup> It is not to be expected that the original author of this narrative, Bishop Michael of Tinnīs, gave a literal account of this dialogue; rather, he added his own words to justify and explain how Christians do not believe in three gods but in one God, like the Muslims:

<sup>123</sup> den Heijer 1994, p. 193.

<sup>124</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 92–93; English translation p. 138.

<sup>125</sup> The earliest Arab apology for Christianity is dated in the mid-eighth century. See Samir 1990–1991; 1994. Such debates in *majālis* of the caliphs, viziers, and other state's men (Griffith 1999) were declaimed orally or in writing, as books and articles, and sometimes also as poems. See Ebied 2005.

<sup>126</sup> Ebied and Young 1975; Samir 1978.

<sup>127</sup> Samir 1983.

<sup>128</sup> Samir 1985.

<sup>129</sup> For more details about Islamic thought on the Trinity, see Thomas 1992; 1999.

He [i.e., al-Wāḍih] went up to that martyr who was in the midst of the soldiers, and he said to him: "O man, what is it that has driven thee to lose thy soul on account of a religion in which thou art unfaithful to God the Exalted, and dost associate with Him another, and wilt be precipitated into this fire in (this) world and in the next world (into) the fire of Gehenna, because thou makest God the third of three, whereas He is one and nothing resembles Him, and thou sayest that God has a son [or begotten a son]. Now hearken to me and put away from thee this impiety and return to thy religion...." He (the man) said to him: "Do not attribute to me impiety and associating with God the Exalted (other gods). How (can) we make Him three, while we, the Christians, adore one God Who is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Son is not foreign to God the Father, Who is His Word and likewise His Spirit. The mastery of our religion is wonderful, but it is hidden from you, because your minds (cannot) endure it."<sup>130</sup>

A second accusation which Christians had to refute was the distortion of the Bible and the corruption of the religion which Christ had preached. In his book about the councils (*Kitāb al-Majāmi'*), Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa' tried not only to defend his own religion and faith, but also to attack the religion of the Muslims, whom he names "our opponents" (*mukhālifunā*):

Some of our opponents contested this creed (of Nicea) and said that the 318 bishops were those who established the doctrine of the Trinity, formed it and announced it in their cities and under their congregation and that the religion which Christ preached is the religion of monotheism which they [i.e., the Muslims] profess. They mean distortion and changing which we would have done. Now, we will refute this idea and this allegation through what we are going to mention.<sup>131</sup>

Sawirus is not satisfied with defending his faith, but he dares to repel all the accusations of the Muslims and to indicate that he can also accuse them of the same thing:

For we do not know, whether—for any reason—the same (distortion) happened in every age. Your religion could be also corrupted, and the same distortion and changing happened to it as it happened to the religion of the Christians and the other (religions).... If they [i.e., the Christians] really distorted and corrupted (their Bible), they had to collect all the correct gospels which the Lord Christ, glory to him, and His followers wrote down, as they [i.e., the Muslims] believe, and to gather the sayings of His disciples and burn them with fire and to write other (books) containing their own opinions and send them to the countries so that the people of every capital have only one version which they must use.<sup>132</sup>

In the citation above, Sawirus refers to what the third caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān had done with the various versions of the Koran and how he gathered them from everywhere and burned them to keep only one version which he ordered to be copied and sent to the Islamic capitals. We can see what liberty Sawirus had at that time to criticise and refute Muslims' accusations against Christians. We must also remember that Sawirus lived under the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz (972–975) who sometimes hosted debates and disputations between Muslims, Christians and Jews where everyone was allowed to express their views without fear. The Caliph believed that "it is not allowed that anyone should become angry in the disputation, but it is requisite for those who dispute that everyone of them should say what he has (to say) and to set

<sup>130</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 101–102; English translation pp. 152–153.

<sup>131</sup> Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa', *Kitāb al-Majāmi'*, in Leroy and Grébaut 1911, p. 501.

<sup>132</sup> Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa', *Kitāb al-Majāmi'*, in Leroy and Grébaut 1911, pp. 502–503.



forth his argument as he wishes.”<sup>133</sup> Not only the caliphs, but also some notable statesmen hosted such disputations between the adherents of the three monotheistic religions, which are known in the Arabic literature as *majlis* (council, assembly). Nevertheless, Sawirus had to be careful in dealing with this matter; therefore, he tried to ensure that his writings, which deal with the differences between the Christian confessions, were read only by Christians and thus the Muslims would have no chance to abuse them. In the introduction to his refutation of Eutychius, he requested of the one to whom he sent his book: “Do not show what I write to you to the opponents of your religion (*mukhālifi dīnika*) and follow what is written in the holy gospel: Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you (Matthew 7:6).”<sup>134</sup>

Not only when he refutes them, but also when he quotes the Koran or mentions Islamic dogma, Sawirus prefers not to refer to Muslims by name, but to give them other names, like *mukhālifūn* or *ḥunafāʾ*. In his letter to the vizier Abū al-Yumn, he refers to the Koranic verse 42:51. Instead of referring to the Koran as his source, Sawirus says: “As the adherents of some religion say: ‘God does not speak to humans except by inspiration, or from behind a veil.’”<sup>135</sup>

The main theme of the abovementioned dialogue between the Coptic Patriarch Abraham ibn Zurʿa and the Fatimid Caliph al-Muʿizz, regardless of its authenticity, is the incarnation. The redactor of the later, expanded version of the biography of this patriarch used the opportunity to give his Christian readers arguments to defend their faith in the face of accusations by Muslims and to explain this Christian dogma to Muslims, as well. He puts the question Muslims often ask into the mouth of the Caliph: “How do you ascribe to God a son? Did God, to Whom be ascribed all perfection and majesty, marry a woman so that he begot a son from her?” Before the patriarch answered the question, he stressed the impossibility of this idea, which leads to infidelity: “My lord, someone who is rational, learned, wise, and virtuous like you, should not utter such words from his mouth. The one who says these words is unbeliever of the exalted God. God forbid!” Then, he started to narrate the salvation history from the annunciation and the miracles of Christ to prove that he is the Creator, ending his apology with the preaching of the gospel in the world through the apostles.<sup>136</sup> However, it is easy to notice that the poor explanation of the author is more biblical than theological. It is empty of any rational or philosophical elements and this makes it completely unbelievable.<sup>137</sup>

Disputations and debates in Christian sources from Egypt take various forms and appear in different literary genres. They can be a dialogue between a Christian clergyman and a Muslim imām or between a bishop and a Jew, or between a convert and his previous coreligionists, but they can also take the form of a miracle, where the answer to the Muslims’ accusations concerning the divine Trinity and the Godhead of Christ incorporate a supernatural episode which no one can deny. The genre can be an apocalypse, a legend with or without historical background, or some paragraphs within a book. The main aim remains the same; namely, the refutation of

<sup>133</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 93; English translation p. 139.

<sup>134</sup> Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʾ, *Al-Radd ʿalā Saʿīd ibn Baṭriq*, in Chébli 1909, p. 130.

<sup>135</sup> Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʾ, *Risāla fī Madhāhib al-Naṣārā* § 70, in Samir 2000, p. 606.

<sup>136</sup> Leroy 1909–1910, pt. 1, p. 400, pt. 2, pp. 33–36.

<sup>137</sup> den Heijer 1994, p. 197.



accusations and the provision of evidence to demonstrate the correctness of the Christian faith.<sup>138</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs* offers an interesting example from the patriarchate of Michael I (744–767), where a miracle replaces a theological answer.<sup>139</sup> After the Christians of Egypt had succeeded in raising the water level of the Nile through their prayers, a kind of competition took place between Copts and Muslims to raise the level once more. Interesting is the prayer of the Muslims, which contains a typical allegation, repeated in every disputation:

O God, the Only One, who has no fellow, O Creator of heaven and earth, you know that we associate no other with you and that we say not, as the Christians do, that you had a son or that you were born. We want this day to see your wonders, which you will work, so that we may know and prove that there is no religion like ours, which we inherited from our fathers. We ask you to work a miracle for us, as you did yesterday for the Christians, who are the enemies of our creed and set beside you another (God), although you are eternal. They say that Christ, the son of Mary, is your son, and that He and the Holy Ghost are both from you, and that you are the third of them.<sup>140</sup>

As should be expected, the narrative ends with the victory of the Christians after the Muslims failed to increase the water level of the Nile. On the contrary, it decreased through their prayers.<sup>141</sup>

Bishop Būlus (Paul) al-Būshī from the 13th century wrote a much more theologically informed treatise book about “Trinity, Incarnation, and rightness of Christianity” in order to explain to both Christians and Muslims how to understand the Christian dogma concerning the Trinity. He speaks to Muslims without referring to them explicitly, but only using the third or the second person plural pronouns. In his explanation, he quotes the Old Testament to prove the Trinity and he refutes the idea of the Muslims that the Bible has been distorted, because Jews also have the same books and cannot allow Christians to change anything in them: “If they [i.e., the Muslims] think that the books of the prophets, which we have, have been distorted, they should know that the Jews, our enemies, have them also and they cannot allow us to do that. Both of us have the same books. This means that there is no distortion in them.”<sup>142</sup> In the fourth part of the same work, al-Būshī distinguishes between a prophet (*nabī*) and a messenger (*rasūl*) and defines seven conditions for a true messenger of God. He speaks to a group of people without naming them, but using the second person plural pronoun (*antum*). Those people must doubtless be the Muslims, whom al-Būshī tried to convince that their prophet cannot be called a messenger of God because he did not fulfil the conditions of a true messenger sent by God. It is obvious how clever al-Būshī was when he confutes the Islamic religion without uttering a word that can make him accusable or punishable:

You bear witness that He [i.e., Christ] came down and was born from a Virgin, but you did not realise the power of the honour of His godhood.... The messengers should be sent to all nations and not to only one nation.... The second (condition): God—blessed is His name, let them understand the languages of all the nations all over the world.... The third (condition): their mission should not be supported by the sword like the kings of the earth who overcome their enemies by force. For the sword supported heathenism for about 3000 years, namely, from the flood until the coming of

<sup>138</sup> Mikhail 2014, pp. 242, 244–245.

<sup>139</sup> Seybold 1912, pp. 198–200; *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 448–451.

<sup>140</sup> Seybold 1912, p. 199. See also *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 449–450.

<sup>141</sup> For a detailed discussion on the role of the Nile in interreligious polemics see Mikhail 2014, pp. 241–249.

<sup>142</sup> Būlus al-Būshī, *Maqāla fī al-Taḥlīṭh*, in Samir 1983, p. 186.

our Lord Christ, and also in the time of the martyrs. Because of fearing before the sword the majority submitted to the worship of the idols and not God. Therefore, Peter says: "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," as if he wanted to say that their mission was not true. Therefore, the Lord chose weak people and sent them to mighty kings and powerful rulers. The fourth (condition): they [i.e., the messengers] should not belong to the same nation (to which they are sent), because many take the side of their cousins and relatives. The fifth (condition): they should not awaken their [i.e., the people of those nations'] desire for the fleshly pleasures and should not allow them to enjoy the worldly things excessively because most of the people are attracted to such things. Therefore, the apostles of Christ ordered the nations they preached everywhere, although they were violent and idolaters, that if anyone has many wives, he should leave them and keep only one wife in chasteness and pureness.... The sixth (condition): the preachers should not be rich and wealthy.... The seventh (condition): the messengers of God should have the sign of the king, their lord who sent them, on their hands.... Therefore, when God sent His pure and perfect messengers he gave them His sign which bore witness to their mission, namely, the miracles they worked in His holy name.... But if the messengers of God are not able to do anything we mentioned and get help from armies and fight against the people to whom God sent them until they obey them, or they awaken their fleshly pleasures, (this means) that their preaching was futile, and they were supported (not by God), but by the one who sent them and was with them until he asserted their will.... If any one (of the preachers) behaves against any of these seven (conditions), one should not accept what he alleges.<sup>143</sup>

Now, we have seen how the Coptic learned clerics and laymen had to find a way to explain the faith to the Christians in order to strengthen their belief and to keep them from leaving the Coptic community. They also engaged in disputations with the Muslims and refuted their arguments concerning the distortion of the Bible and the meaning of the Trinity. We should not see this controversy as a religious conflict, but more as an attempt to preserve the Coptic identity, which shrank at that time to be a religious identity based on the Christian faith, and to save the Coptic community from conversion and assimilation. Political identity carried no weight for Copts in the medieval period. They were convinced that the history of the world was planned by God and that Egypt was given to the Arabs by the will of God. They thought the same way as Bahrām the Armenian, the vizier of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ (1130–1149), who refused to fight against the Muslims and said to his followers: "The kingdom of this land God has given to the Muslims, and it is not lawful nor permissible for me by God to fight against the people for their kingdom, and to deprive them of their rights."<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Būlus al-Būshī, *Maqāla fī al-Tatblīḥ*, in Samir 1983, pp. 234–251.

<sup>144</sup> *The History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 30; English translation p. 49.

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# The life of Christ in Coptic Psalis

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## Abstract

*This article overviews a genre of psalis in the Coptic liturgy that have never been studied before. We publish here three psalis that are used in the month of Kiahk and during the Coptic year. We compare the episodes of the Life of Christ treated in these texts. We make a commentary on these psalis.\**

## Introduction

The *psalis* are hymns recited before the Odes and Theotokias.<sup>1</sup> F. E. Lanne highlights the importance of a thematic study of the psalis, especially those addressed to Jesus Christ. In a previous study, I investigated the date and place of the composition of the Jesus Christ Psalis.<sup>2</sup>

In this paper, I will study psalis that narrate Christ's life. It is important to mention that there are psalis commemorating the seven major and the seven minor Lordly feasts.<sup>3</sup> These psalis concentrate only on the event or feast commemorated.

The first psali under discussion here is addressed to Jesus Christ; it is the *psali Batos*<sup>4</sup> from the yearly psalmodia and is chanted on Thursdays.<sup>5</sup> The second psali under discussion is addressed

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<sup>1</sup> In his pioneering study, Yassa 'Abd al-Masih analyses the forms of the Psalis (1958, pp. 85–100). Lanne highlights the importance of a thematic study of the psalis; especially the psalis addressed to Jesus Christ. For this genre, see Lanne 1977, pp. 163–203; reprinted in 1997, 307–338). In a previous study (2009, pp. 237–245), I investigated the date and place of the composition of the Jesus Christ Psalis.

<sup>2</sup> Youssef 2009, pp. 237–245.

<sup>3</sup> According to Abu al-Barakat Ibn Kabar, the seven major Lordly feasts are:

1. the Annunciation
2. the Nativity
3. the Epiphany
4. Palm Sunday
5. the Resurrection
6. the Ascension
7. Pentecost

The seven minor Lordly feasts are:

1. the Lord's circumcision
2. Christ's entry into the Temple
3. the flight into Egypt
4. the miracle at Cana of Galilee
5. the Transfiguration
6. Maundy Thursday
7. the Sunday of Thomas

See Villecourt 1925, pp. 308–317. These feasts are also attested in Coptic art; see Skalova and Gabra 2003, pp. 200–207, and Skalova *et al.* 1998, pp. 101–112.

<sup>4</sup> Ishaq 1991a, pp. 2320–2321.

<sup>5</sup> The psali endeavours to document the main biblical occurrences from Adam to the Apocalypse.

to the “God of Israel”; it is the *psali Adam*<sup>6</sup> and this psali is used as an introduction to the third Ode during the month of Kiahk.<sup>7</sup> A second *psali Adam* (the third psali under discussion here) provides the reader with a list of all the miracles Jesus performed, as documented in the four gospels.

### Remarks on the Rite of Kiahk

Interestingly, the first two psalis mentioned above are dedicated for the month of Kiahk (Advent fast), the month which generally commemorates the Virgin Mary and precedes the Feast of the Nativity. However, in a previous article, we demonstrated how the Ode that is chanted during Kiahk is in fact a yearly Ode.<sup>8</sup>

There is another hymn for the month of Kiahk that praises the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace. This hymn contains some stanzas in Greek, while others are in Bohairic and Sahidic.<sup>9</sup> This hymn occurs rarely in the manuscripts of the Psalmodia.<sup>10</sup> It seems that it was introduced from the Upper Egyptian rite.<sup>11</sup> The oldest manuscript, to my knowledge, is from the White Monastery and is now preserved in the library of Leiden University, Ms Insinger No 32.<sup>12</sup> The first stanza of this hymn is mentioned in fol. 66 and is chanted on the second Saturday of Lent, and the second stanza is in fol. 67 and is chanted on the Tuesday of the fourth week of Lent.

It may be assumed, therefore, that the actual rite of the psalmodia of Kiahk consists of earlier rites and hence our two psalis seem to be taken from a rite of another occasion.

We shall compare the two texts narrating the life of Christ in the below tabulation, whilst the psali detailing the miracles will be dealt with separately after that.

### Text

Thursday Batos Psali <sup>13</sup>		Psali Adam for the third Ode of Kiahk <sup>14</sup>	
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΓΑΡ Ω ΝΑΜΕΝΡΑΤ ΜΑΡΕΝΖΙΟΥΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΨΝΕΝΟΥΩΩ ΨΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΖΩΟΥ <sup>15</sup> ΕΤΣΩΚ ΨΜΜΟΝ ΕΨΟΥΝ ΕΦΝΟΒΙ <sup>16</sup>	Once more my beloved, let us reject the evil desire of our hearts that lead us to sin	†ΨΕΡΖΜΟΤ ΨΝΤΟΤΚ Φ† ΨΜΠΙΣΑ ΧΕ ΑΚΨΡΙ ΝΕΜΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΝΙΩ† ΨΝΝΑΙ	I thank you, God of Israel, for You did with us according to Your great mercy

<sup>6</sup> Ishaq 1991b, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> Zanetti 1995, pp. 89–90.

<sup>8</sup> Youssef 2007, pp. 169–203.

<sup>9</sup> Labib 1908, pp. 65–66.

<sup>10</sup> Zanetti 1995, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> For an overview of the liturgy of Upper Egypt, see Zanetti 2008, pp. 201–210.

<sup>12</sup> Pleyte and Boeser 1897, p. 138.

<sup>13</sup> Tukhi 1764, pp. 106–108; Mina al-Baramusi 1908, pp. 207–209.

<sup>14</sup> Labib 1911–1922, pp. 481–484. Tukhi 1764, pp. 284–285.

<sup>15</sup> Heb. 12:1.

<sup>16</sup> James 1:14.

Thursday Batos Psali		Psali Adam for the third Ode of Kiahk	
<p>ἸΝΤΕΝΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΙΡΑΝ ἸΝΟΥΧΑΙ ἸΝΤΕ ΠΕΝΘΕ ἸΗC ΠΧC ΉΕΝ ΟΥΝΙΩΤ ἸΜΕΤΑΘΜΟΥΝΚ ΕΝΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΧΩ ἸΜΜΟC</p>	<p>And to praise without ceasing the name of Salvation [that is] of our Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i>, proclaiming and saying:</p>	<p>†ΩΕΠΖΜΟΤ ἸΝΤΟΤΚ Φ† ἸΜΠΙCḲ ΧΕ ΑΚΟΥΩΡΠ ἸΜΠΕΚΩΗΡΙ ΨΑ ἸΝΤΕΚCΩ† ἸΜΜΟΝ</p>	<p>I thank you, God of Israel, for You sent Your Son until You save us</p>
<p>ΧΕ ΠΑΘC ἸΗC ΠΧC ΠΙΜΙCΙ ΕΒΟΛΉΕΝ ΦΙΩΤ ΗΑΧΩΟΥ ἸΝΝΙΕΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>17</sup> ΝΑΙ ΝΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΝΙΩ† ἸΝΝΑΙ<sup>18</sup></p>	<p>“O my Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i> who is born of the Father before all <i>ages</i>, have mercy upon us <i>according to</i> Your great mercy</p>	<p>†ΩΕΠΖΜΟΤ ἸΝΤΟΤΚ Φ† ἸΜΠΙCḲ ΧΕ ΑΚΒΙCΑΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΗΕΘΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ</p>	<p>I thank you, God of Israel, for You were <i>incarnated</i> of Saint Mary</p>
		<p>†ΩΕΠΖΜΟΤ ἸΝΤΟΤΚ Φ† ἸΜΠΙCḲ ΧΕ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΚΩΟΥ ἸΝΧΕ ΝΙΜΑΝΕCΩΟΥ<sup>19</sup></p>	<p>I thank you, God of Israel, for the shepherds saw Your glory</p>
<p>ΠΑΘC ἸΗC ΠΧC ΦΗΕΤΑCΜΑCΨ ΉΕΝ ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ ἸΝΤΕ †ΟΥΔΕΑ CΩ† ἸΜΜΟΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΙ ΝΑΝ<sup>20</sup></p>	<p>My Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i>, who was born of the <i>Virgin</i> in Bethlehem of Judea, save us and have mercy upon us.</p>		
<p>ΠΑΘC ἸΗC ΠΧC ΦΗΕΤΑCΜΑCΨ ΉΕΝ ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ ἸΝΤΕ †ΟΥΔΕΑ CΩ† ἸΜΜΟΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΙ ΝΑΝ<sup>21</sup></p>	<p>My Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i>, who was born of the <i>Virgin</i> in Bethlehem of Judea, save us and have mercy upon us.</p>		
<p>ΠΑΘC ἸΗC ΠΧC ΦΗΕΤΑΨΒΙΩΜC ΉΕΝ ΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC<sup>22</sup> ΕΚ᾽ΕΤΟΥΒΟ ἸΝΝΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΕΒΟΛΖΑ ΠΘΩΛΕΒ ἸΝΤΕ ΦΝΟΒΙ<sup>23</sup></p>	<p>My Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i>, who was baptised in the Jordan, purify our <i>souls</i> from the defilement of sin</p>		
		<p>†ΩΕΠΖΜΟΤ ἸΝΤΟΤΚ Φ† ἸΜΠΙCḲ ΧΕ ΑΚΨΑΙ ΝΑΝ ΉΕΝ ΤΕΚΜΕΤCΑΙΕ</p>	<p>I thank you, God of Israel, for You showed us Your beauty</p>
		<p>†ΩΕΠΖΜΟΤ ἸΝΤΟΤΚ Φ† ἸΜΠΙCḲ ΧΕ ΑΚ᾽ΙΡΙ ἸΝΖΑΝΨΦΗΡΙ ΕΥΟΨ<sup>24</sup></p>	<p>I thank you, God of Israel, for You performed many miracles</p>

<sup>17</sup> Jn 1:1–3, 3:16, 4:9.<sup>18</sup> Mt 20:31, Mk 10:48, Lk 18:39.<sup>19</sup> Lk 2:8–13.<sup>20</sup> Mt 1:23, Lk 1:27–34.<sup>21</sup> Mt 1:23, Lk 1:27–34.<sup>22</sup> Mt 3:11–17, Mk 1:7–11, Lk 3:21–22, Jn 1:28–34.<sup>23</sup> 1 Jn 1:7.<sup>24</sup> See the following psali.

Thursday Batos Psali		Psali Adam for the third Ode of Kiahk	
παῖς ἰῆς πᾶς φνεταφερνηστεῦιν εἰρηι ἐχων ἡμέ ἡμεροῦ νημ ῥμε ἡεχωρ <sup>25</sup> σωτ ἡμον οὐοῖ ναι ναν	My Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i> , who <i>fasted</i> on our behalf, forty days and forty nights, save us and have mercy upon us		
		↑ωεπρμωτ ἡνωτκ φτ ἡπιῶλ χε αἰερσοβνι εροκ ἡχε νηιογδα <sup>26</sup>	I thank you, God of Israel, for the Jews conspired against You
παῖς ἰῆς πᾶς φνεταγαωφ επισταγρος <sup>27</sup> εκ ἡομῆεμ ἡπσατανας σαπεσντ ἡνεβαλαχ <sup>28</sup>	My Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i> , who was crucified upon the <i>Cross</i> , crush <i>Satan</i> down under our feet	↑ωεπρμωτ ἡνωτκ φτ ἡπιῶλ χε αἰαωκ επισταγρος ῆεν τρολγοθα	I thank you, God of Israel, for You were crucified upon the <i>Cross</i> at Golgotha
παῖς ἰῆς πᾶς φνεταγχαφ ῆεν πimγ <sup>29</sup> εκ ἡομῆεμ ἡῆρηι ἡῆτηεν ἡτσογρι ἡτε φμογ	My Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i> , who was placed in the grave, break in us the thorn of death	↑ωεπρμωτ ἡνωτκ φτ ἡπιῶλ χε αἰχακ ῆεν πimγ ἡμφρητ ἡνιρεφμωογτ	I thank you, God of Israel, for You were placed in the grave like the dead
παῖς ἰῆς πᾶς φνεταφτωνφ εβολῆεν ἡνεομωογτ <sup>30</sup> αφωεναφ επωωι ενιφνογι εκετογνosten ῆεν τεκχομ	My Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i> , who rose from the dead, and ascended to the heavens; raise us with Your power	↑ωεπρμωτ ἡνωτκ φτ ἡπιῶλ χε μενενα ῆ ἡεροογ ακτωνκ εβολ ῆεν ἡνεομωογτ	I thank you, God of Israel, for You arose from the dead on the third day
		↑ωεπρμωτ ἡνωτκ φτ ἡπιῶλ χε ακωενακ επεσντ εῆογν ετπρονια <sup>31</sup>	I thank you, God of Israel, for You descended by <i>Providence</i>
		↑ωεπρμωτ ἡνωτκ φτ ἡπιῶλ χε ακνοζεμ ἡαααμ νημ πεφγενος	I thank you, God of Israel, for You delivered Adam and his <i>race</i>
		↑ωεπρμωτ ἡνωτκ φτ ἡπιῶλ χε ακζονζεν ετοτογ ἡνεκαποστολος	I thank you, God of Israel for You agreed with Your <i>Apostles</i>

<sup>25</sup> Mt 4:2, Lk 4:2.<sup>26</sup> Mt 26:3, Mk 14:10, Lk 22:4, [Jn 11:49.<sup>27</sup> Mt 27:35, Mk 15: 24–25, Jn 19:18.<sup>28</sup> Rom 16:20.<sup>29</sup> Mt 27:60, Mk 15:46, Lk 23:53, Jn 19:41–42.<sup>30</sup> Mt 28:6–7, Mk 16:6, Lk 24:2, [1?] Jn 20.<sup>31</sup> 1 Pt 4:6.



Thursday Batos Psali		Psali Adam for the third Ode of Kiahk	
		†ϣⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕ ⲫⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲗ ϣⲉ ⲁⲕϣⲉⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲗⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲡϣⲱ ⲉⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ <sup>32</sup>	I thank you, God of Israel, for You ascended to the heavens.
		†ϣⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕ ⲫⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲗ ϣⲉ ⲁⲕⲗⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ	I thank you, God of Israel, for You sat on the right of the <i>Almighty</i>
ⲡⲁⲃⲥ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲭⲥ ⲫⲏⲉⲑⲏⲏⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲁⲗ ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓ <sup>33</sup> ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲗⲟⲧ	My Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i> , who will come in His second <i>Appearance</i> , treat us <i>lovingly</i> as we stand before Your fearful <i>judgment</i>	†ϣⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕ ⲫⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲗ ϣⲉ ⲉⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ	I thank you, God of Israel, for You will come to judge the <i>world</i>
		†ϣⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕ ⲫⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲗ ⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲭⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	I thank you, God of Israel, grant me mercy and pardon
		†ϣⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲕ ⲫⲧ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲗ †ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲓ	I thank you, God of Israel, I glorify Your name and we worship You <i>according</i> to Your great mercy
ϣⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲧⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲑⲱ ⲁⲕⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ	For by Your own will and the consent of Your Father and the Holy <i>Spirit</i> , You came and saved us.		

### Commentary

The psali of Thursday may be dated to the seventh or eighth century.<sup>34</sup> It is attested in the book *Lamp of Darkness*, authored by Ibn Kabar (1324).<sup>35</sup> The earliest manuscripts, surviving from St Macarius and kept in Hamburg, dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, attest to this psali.<sup>36</sup>

The second psali occurs in the manuscripts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>37</sup> and was printed for the first time by Tukhi in 1764.<sup>38</sup>

Neither psali is acrostic. An acrostic psali may have 24 or 32 stanzas, while the psali for Thursday has only 12 stanzas and the psali of Kiahk has 20 stanzas. This indicates that both authors intended to stress the message, regardless of the consistency of the number of stanzas.

<sup>32</sup> Acts 1:11.

<sup>33</sup> Mt 16:27, Acts 1:10.

<sup>34</sup> Youssef 2009, pp. 237–245.

<sup>35</sup> Villecourt 1924, p. 228; for the author, see Khalil 2000, pp. 629–655.

<sup>36</sup> Störk 1995, pp. 358, 481.

<sup>37</sup> See Störk 2002, pp. 50, 97, 115.

<sup>38</sup> See above.

As we can see from the references from both the Old and New Testaments, the authors of these psalis were familiar with the Bible.

As a literary structure, both psalis start with one stanza as an introduction, and the last stanzas serve as the conclusion.

We may note that there are some episodes missing from each of the psalis. It is remarkable that the event of Pentecost is mentioned in neither psali.

In the second psali, while the first part of the stanza is addressed to God the Father: “I thank you, God of Israel, for You sent Your Son...”, the second part is addressed to God the Son: “You saved us...”.

The Greek loan words are among the most common words in Coptic liturgical texts.

There is another *psali Adam* for the third ode, also for the month of Kiahk, that narrates the miracles of Jesus Christ.<sup>39</sup> This Psali is acrostic.

## Text

ΑΡΙΖΜΟΤ ΝΑΝ ΠΕΝΝΗΒ: ΉΕΝ ΟΥΚΑΨ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΝΟΥΣ: Ω ΠΑΡΧΗ ΕΦΟΥΑΒ: Ω ΠΕΝΘΕ ΙΗΕ ΠΧΕ	Grant us, our Master, intelligence and <i>mind</i> , O holy <i>Leader</i> , <sup>40</sup> O our Lord Jesus <i>Christ</i>
ΒΟΗΘΙΝ ΕΤΑΜΕΤΧΩΒ: ΉΕΝ ΤΕΚΧΟΜ `ΝΝΟΥΨ: ΜΟΙ ΝΑΝ `ΝΟΥΧΒΟΒ: ΝΕΜ ΟΥΖΜΟΤ `ΝΝΟΥΨ	<i>Help</i> my weakness by Your divine power, give us calm- ness and divine grace
ΓΕ ΓΑΡ ΉΕΝ ΠΕΚΝΑΙ: ΑΚ΄Ι ΕΘΒΕ ΠΕΝΣΩΨ: Ω ΠΙΡΕΦΟΥΧΑΙ: `ΝΛΟΓΟC `ΝΝΟΥΨ	<i>For</i> with Your mercy, You came for our salvation, O Saviour, the <i>Word</i> of God
ΔΑΥΙΔ ΑΦΕΡΜΕΘΡΕ: ΉΕΝ ΠΙΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ: ΧΕ ΠΟΥΡΟ `ΝΤΕ ΤΦΕ: ΚΝΑΟΥΟΝΖΩ ΉΕΝ ΣΙΩΝ	David testified in the <i>psalm</i> : “The King of Heaven is revealed in Zion” <sup>41</sup>
ΕΘΒΕ ΠΣΩΨ `ΝΑΔΑΜ: ΑΦΩΑΙ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟC: ΠΘΕ `ΝΤΕ ΝΙΧΟΜ: ΠΙΑΧΩΡΙΤΟC	For the salvation of Adam, He shone in the <i>flesh</i> , the Lord of Hosts, the <i>incomprehensible [One]</i>
ΖΕΩΨ ΑΛΗΘΩC: ΝΙΧΟΜ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΩΦΗΡΙ: ΕΤΑΦΑΙΤΟΥ ΉΕΝ ΠΙΚΟCΜΟC: ΖΙΤΕΝ ΤΕΦΜΕΤΧΩΒ	<i>Truly</i> numerous are the miracles and the wonders that He did in the world through His humility
ΗΔΕΟC ΛΑΖΑΡΟC: ΜΕΝΕΝCΑ Δ `ΝΕΖΟΟΥ: ΑΦΤΟΥΝΟCΩ ΑΛΗΘΩC: ΕΒΟΛΉΕΝ ΠΙΜΖΑΥ	<i>So</i> He <i>truly</i> raised Lazarus from the grave after four days <sup>42</sup>
ΘΑΛΑCΣΑ ΖΙΧΩC: ΑΦΜΩΨ ΉΕΝ ΤΕΦΧΟΜ: ΑΦΖΕΡΙ `ΜΠΕΦΧΟΝC: ΝΙΧΟΛ <sup>43</sup> `ΝΤΕ ΦΙΟΜ	He walked on the <i>sea</i> by His power <sup>44</sup> and He ceased the violence of the waves of the sea. <sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Labib 1908, pp. 484–489.

<sup>40</sup> Meaning uncertain.

<sup>41</sup> This is a free quotation, the meaning may refer to Pss 110:2, 132:13, 146:10.

<sup>42</sup> Jn 10:40–11:44.

<sup>43</sup> Read `ΝΝΙΧΟΛ.

<sup>44</sup> Mt 14:25.

<sup>45</sup> Mt 8:24.

IC ΠΙΒΕΛΛΕ ὙΜΙCΙ: ΑΦΘΑΜΙΟ ὙΝΝΕΦΒΑΛ: ἦΕΝ ΤΕΡΧΟΜ ΕΤΒΟCΙ: ΑΦΧΑΦ ΑΦΝΑΥ ὙΜΒΟΛ	Behold, [for] the one born blind, He <sup>46</sup> created His eyes by His sublime power, and He placed it [the clay] so he [who was born blind] could see. <sup>47</sup>
ΚΕ ΨΕΡΙ ὙΝΤCΖΙΜΙ: ὙΝΧΑΝΑΝΕΟC: ΠΧC ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤ: ΑΦΕΡΦΑΘΡΙ ΕΡΟC	Also the daughter of the <i>Canaanite</i> woman, <i>Christ</i> our God healed her. <sup>48</sup>
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΙΒΑΛΕΥ: ΝΕΜ ΝΙΚΟΥΡ ΕΥCΟΠ: ὙΝΘΟΦ ΑΦΤΑΛΔΩΟΥ: ὙΝΧΕ ΦΗΕΘΥ	Hence, the Holy Himself, healed both the lame and the deaf
ΜΑΤΟΥΝΟC ΠΩΗΡΙ: ὙΝΤΧΗΡΑ ὙΝCΖΙΜΙ: ΑΦΨΕΝΖΗΤ ἦΑ ΠΕCΡΙΜΙ: ΙΗC ΠΩΗΡΙ ὙΜΦΤ	[He] raise[d] the son of the <i>widow</i> , because He was compassionate to her weeping, [that is] Jesus the Son of God. <sup>49</sup>
ΝΙΚΑΚCΕΖΤ ΔΕ ΟΝ: ΑΦΤΟΥΒΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ: ΟΥΟΖ ΠΙΛΕΓΕΩΝ: ὙΝΘΟΦ ΑΦΖΙΤΦ ΕΒΟΛ	The lepers also He cleansed them <sup>50</sup> and He cast out the <i>legions</i> <sup>51</sup>
ΞCΜΑΡΩΟΥΤ Ω ΠΧC: ΧΕ ΑΚΤΑΛΒΟ ὙΜΠΑΘΟC: ΤΨΕΡΙ ὙΝΙΑΗΡΟC: ἦΕΝ ΤΕΚΜΕΤΧΡC	Blessed are You O Christ, for You healed the sorrows (concerning) the daughter of Jairus through Your goodness <sup>52</sup>
ΟΥΩΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΦΤ: ΧΕ ὙΝΘΟΚ ΠΙΡΕΦCΨΤ: ΑΚΨΕΝΖΗΤ ἦΑ ΝΙΡΩΜΙ: ΟΥΟΖ ΑΚΕΡΡΩΜΙ	Glory be to You O God, for You are the Saviour, You had compassion on humankind and You became Man
ΠΙΕ ὙΝΩΙΚ ὙΝΘΩΟΥ: ΝΕΜ ΠΙΤΕΒΤ Β: ΑΦCΜΟΥ ΕΡΩΟΥ: ΑΥCΙ ὙΝΕ <sup>53</sup> ὙΨΟ	You blessed the five loaves and the two fish, and the five thousands were satisfied. <sup>54</sup>
CΜΟΥ ΕΝΙΑΛΩΟΥΙ: ΝΗΕΤΑΥ ὙΝΙ ΝΑΦ: ΑΥΒΙ ὙΜΠΩΛΗΛΟΥ ὙΝΙ: ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΡΑΝΑΦ	[He] bless[ed] the children that came to Him, [and] they received joy according to what pleased Him.
ΤΙΜΗ ΠΩΗΡΙ ὙΝΤΙΜΗ: ΠΙΟΥΩΙΝΙ ΑΦΤ ΝΑΦ: ἦΕΝ ΝΕΦΒΑΛ Β: ΑΦΨΕΝΖΗΤ ἦΑΡΟΦ	He gave light <sup>55</sup> to the eyes of Timi son of Timi and He had compassion on him <sup>56</sup>
ΥΠΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ: ἦΕΝ ΠCΑΧΙ ὙΝΤΕ ΡΩΦ: ΑΦΖΙΟΥΙ ὙΝΝΙΑΕΜΩΝ: ἦΕΝ ΠΙΕΡΨΙΨΙ ὙΝΤΑΦ	For behold, with the word of His mouth [and] by His authority, He also cast out demons.
ΦΤ ὙΝΤΕ ΠΩΟΥ: ἦΕΝ ΤΚΑΝΑ ὙΝΤΕ ΤΓΑΛΙΛΕΑ: ΑΦΟΥΟΝΖΦ ἦΕΝ ΠΕΦΩΟΥ: ΝΕΜ ΤΕΦΕΞΟΥCΙΑ	The God of glory, in Cana of Galilee, revealed His glory and His authority <sup>57</sup>
ΧΩΡΙC ΦΑΝΤΑCΙΑ: ὙΝΤΕ ΖΑΝΖΥΔΡΙΑ ὙΜΜΩΟΥ: ΖΙΤΕΝ ΤΕΦCΟΦΙΑ: ΕΟΥΗΡΠ ΑΦΟΥΨΤΕΒ ὙΜΜΩΟΥ	Without illusion, through His wisdom, He changed the pots of water into wine
ΨΩΤΗΡ ὙΜΠΙΚΟCΜΟC: ΦΗΕΤΨΟΠ ΙCΧΕΝ ΖΗ: ΝΑΙ ἦΑ ΠΕΦΛΑΟC: ΑΦΑΙΤΟΥ ὙΝΡΕΜΖΕ	The Saviour of the world, who is before eternity, had mercy upon His people and freed them
Ω ΠΧC ΠΕΝΝΗΒ: ΧΩ ΝΑΝ ὙΝΝΕΝΝΟΒΙ: ΝΑΙ ἦΑ ΤΕΝΜΕΤΧΩΒ: ΑΝΟΝ ἦΑ ΝΙΖΗΚΙ	O <i>Christ</i> our Master, forgive us our sins and have mercy upon our weakness, we [who] are poor

<sup>46</sup> It should be "You".<sup>47</sup> Jn 9:2.<sup>48</sup> Mt 15:22.<sup>49</sup> Lk 7:12.<sup>50</sup> Lk 7:22, 17:12.<sup>51</sup> Mk 5:9.<sup>52</sup> Lk 8:41, Mk 5:21-43.<sup>53</sup> Read ὙΝΧΕ ΠΙΕ.<sup>54</sup> Lk 9:13, Mt 14:17. Mk 6:38.<sup>55</sup> Referring to sight.<sup>56</sup> Mk 10:46.<sup>57</sup> Jn 2:1.

### Commentary

The psali is rhythmic. We note the change of the person and number; for example, in the second stanza we find both the first person singular and first person plural:

ΒΟΗΘΙΝ ΕΤΑΜΕΤΧΩΒ: (sing.)      ΉΕΝ ΤΕΚΧΟΜ `ΝΝΟΥΤ:  
ΜΟΙ ΝΑΝ `ΝΟΥΧΒΟΒ: (plur.)      ΝΕΜ ΟΥΖΜΟΤ `ΝΝΟΥΤ

*Help my weakness by Your divine power,  
give us calmness and divine grace*

The author of this psali uses Greek loan words more than the previous two psalis.

In the first stanza the author confuses the fact that the loan word **αρχη** in Greek is feminine, whereas in this psalis it is used in the masculine form instead of the common word **αρχων**.

In the third stanza, we find a neologism **ρεφουχαι** designated for Saviour.<sup>58</sup> This word is used to rhyme **ναι** with **ουχαι**.

In the fourth stanza, the psalm is not a direct quotation but its meaning can be found in more than one place. With the intention of keeping the rhythm, the author of this psali chose of Psalm of David because it is quite hard to find a Coptic word starting with the letter delta.

In the fifth stanza, we find the change of the person from the second person “You”—as in the previous stanzas—to the third person “He”.

The sixth stanza seems to be a misreading, it should be read thus to keep the rhythm:

ΖΕΟΥ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ: ΝΙΧΟΜ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΩΦΗΡΙ: ΕΤΑΦΑΙΤΟΥ ΉΕΝ ΠΙΚΟCΜΟC: ΖΙΤΕΝ ΤΕΦΜΕΤΧΩΡΙ	<i>Truly, many are the miracles and wonders He did in the world through His might</i>
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From the seventh stanza onwards is a list of the miracles. While according to the Gospel of John, the miracle at Cana is the first miracle and that of Lazarus is the last, it seems the authors of this psali wanted to highlight the most spectacular miracle first.

In the eighth stanza, the author mentions two miracles of Jesus in one sentence.

In the ninth stanza, it seems that the author learnt Coptic from the Mukadimat,<sup>59</sup> as he did not use the causative for **αφερεναυ εβολ** but instead used **αφχαφ αφναυ `μβολ** which is a literal translation from the Arabic colloquial idiom **خليته يشوف**.

In the tenth stanza, we note the omission of the definite article before **ωερι `ντςζιμι**.

The eleventh stanza does not refer to a particular miracle. We note that the independent subject pronoun is placed before the verb and another subject introduced by **`νχε** is placed after the verb. This is not grammatically correct.

The twelfth stanza starts with an imperative mood in order to begin with a “**Μ**.” The subject **ιης πωηρι `μφτ** is not introduced by **`νχε**.

In the thirteenth stanza, the author mentions two miracles of Jesus in one sentence.

In the fourteenth stanza, the definite article before **παθος** is omitted without any grammatical or even rhythmic reason. The name of Jairus occurs in the New Testament as **ιαϊρος**.

<sup>58</sup> Crum 1967, pp. 511–512.

<sup>59</sup> Sidarus 2001, pp. 63–79; 2002, pp. 141–160; 2003, pp. 237–251.

The fifteenth stanza does not narrate any miracle; it is a contemplation on Christ's incarnation.

In the sixteenth stanza, we note that the definite article is not omitted before **TEBT B̄**. The subject for the verb **CI** is not introduced with **ḲX̄E**.

As this psali is acrostic, hence we find that the seventeenth stanza starts with an imperative mood in order to begin with a "C".

In the eighteenth stanza, the name of the blind man in the Gospel of Mark is **TIMEOC BAPTIMEOC**. The author of our psali refers to an Arabic version. We may note that the possessive adjective is not omitted before **BAL B̄**.

The twentieth stanza, in order to respect the grammar and semantics should be read thus:

ϣϥ ḲNTE ΠΟΥ: ΝΕΜ ΤΕΡΕΞΟΥCΙΑ: ΑΦΟΥΟΝΖϥ ἦΕΝ ΠΕΡΩΟΥ: ἦΕΝ ΤΚΑΝΑ ḲNTE  
ΓΓΑΛΙΛΕΑ.

The twenty-first stanza refers to the same miracle of Cana in Galilee.

The last two stanzas serve as a conclusion to the list of miracles. Hence, the second last stanza should be read thus:

ΨΩΤΗΡ ḲΜΠΙΚΟCΜΟC: ΦΗΕΤΨΟΠ ΙCΧΕΝ ΖΗ: ΑΦΝΑΙ ἦΑ ΠΕΡΛΑΟC: ΑΦΑΙΤΟΥ  
ḲΝΡΕΜΖΕ.

The author of the psali did not mention his name in the last stanza, being consistent with the manner of other authors such as Sarkis, Nicodemous Christodolus, Hermina and Gabriel.<sup>60</sup> Instead, he used the first person plural: "we, us, our."

## Conclusion

The three psalis are unique in the Coptic liturgical corpus. They reflect a familiarity and perfect knowledge of biblical texts by their authors, which may indicate that one or more of them were among the clergy or the learned notables (*Archons*).

These psalis for a long time served as a pedagogical tool to instruct the congregation. The first two seem to have been composed when Coptic was still understood, and hence the grammatical structures are correct. Both are neither acrostic nor rhythmic. Greek loan words are rarely used and, where they are, they are among the most common in Coptic texts. This indicates that Greek had ceased to be used as a spoken language by the time of composition. It is difficult to date these psalis. Most of the liturgical works appeared at a relatively late date, as they are used more frequently than other literary texts. The psali of Thursday is attested in the manuscripts of the 14th century but the Kiahk psali is not attested before the 17th century. However, the texts should be earlier.

The third psali is a late composition. It is acrostic and follows a particular rhythm. The grammatical structure of the stanza is not correct and the meaning in many places is uncertain.

<sup>60</sup> Youssef 1998, pp. 383–402 (Sarkis); 1994, pp. 625–633 (Nicodemous); 2006, pp. 381–397 (Hermina); 2008, pp. 179–200 (Gabriel).

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## REVIEW ARTICLE

*Treaty, Law and Bible  
in Literalist Theory*

Eva VON DASSOW

Kenneth A. Kitchen and Paul J. N. Lawrence, 2012, *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East*, 3 volumes: Part 1: The Texts; Part 2: Text, Notes and Chromograms; Part 3: Overall Historical Survey. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. ISBN 978-3-447-06726-3. (Hardcover).

The prodigious bulk of these volumes, along with their price, invites the expectation that they contain a comprehensive and magisterial treatment of all extant documents in the three categories the title indicates, in authoritative and reliable editions. The first volume, Part 1 (1086 + xxvi pages), presents the texts of treaties, law collections, and covenants that Kitchen and Lawrence have selected for inclusion. Most texts are given in transliteration and translation on facing pages, following the convenient format of Loeb classical editions except without the notes at the bottom of the page; some texts, however, are relegated to one of two excursuses on the grounds that they are too poorly preserved for this treatment, do not require it, or are deemed unsuitable for inclusion on other criteria (see “Preliminary Note” to Excursus I and “Introductory Note” to Excursus II, Part 1, pp. 1038, 1082). The second volume, Part 2 (268 + xix pages), presents notes on individual texts (Part 1, in eight chapters); a series of indexes (Part 2, Ch. 9: “Topical Indexes and Related Notes”), which do not include such tools as a concordance or an index of persons; four maps, and lastly “chromograms” illustrating, for every text, the presence and proportion of each of 12 elements that constitute the authors’ template for documents in their three categories (Part 3). One wonders whether the publisher got the title of this second volume right, because in their introduction the authors describe the contents of its first part as “Text-Notes” (Part 2, p. xviii) whereas the book’s cover and title page identify it as “Text, Notes, and Chromograms.” The third volume, Part 3 (288 + xiv pages), “Overall Historical Survey,” proceeds item by item through the texts in Part 1, prefacing every text or group of texts with a brief overview of the period to which it belongs, or to which it is attributed; there follows a description of the contents of the text(s), often supplemented by lists itemising a text’s contents and aligning them with those of other texts, and often accompanied by disquisitions on the socio-cultural background of the texts and their protagonists. Part 3 concludes with an excursus on document formats, an index to this volume, three more maps, and a “Postscript / Addenda” (pp. 287–288). At various points the authors make claims for their work’s comprehensive character as well as its exclusive reliance on “facts, not theory” (e.g., Part 2, p. xix). They characterise the work as “our integral presentation of all the principal formal documents

under Treaty, Law[-collections] and Covenant,” for which hitherto “there has been no all-inclusive corpus” (Part 3, p. xiv), and they describe its subject as “the entire ancient Near Eastern corpus ... a fundamental point that should constantly be borne in mind by users” (Part 1, p. xxi).

Inevitably, new discoveries and publications of the very types of documents Kitchen and Lawrence treat – as well as important new scholarship on long-known material – appeared too late for them to consider; indeed, such sources appeared even as their work went to press. For instance, Jesper Eidem (2011) published the treaties found at Tell Leilan just when they concluded work on these volumes (in April 2011, according to the preface to Part 1, p. xviii). Thus they could only present the text of the one previously published Tell Leilan treaty (their no. 24) while registering the others (nos. 25–27) as “not available” (Part 1, p. 230), and they could not benefit from Eidem’s cogent analysis of these documents.<sup>1</sup> Nor could they anticipate the new edition of ALT \*456 (their no. 29) by Jacob Lauinger, with his conclusive demonstration that this tablet is not a treaty, although, as his discussion shows, arguments to that effect had been made by others already.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, the 2009 discovery at Tell Tayinat (ancient Kunulua) of an exemplar of the loyalty oath Esarhaddon imposed to guarantee his succession – the so-called vassal treaty of Esarhaddon (their no. 94) – did not become known to Kitchen and Lawrence in time. The Tell Tayinat tablet, published with alacrity by Lauinger,<sup>3</sup> significantly changes what we know of this text and its context, invalidating their characterisation of it as a document involving mainly Medes (see Part 1, p. 963, and Part 2, p. 96). They did not have the opportunity to consider Elena Devecchi’s (2012) demonstration that CTH 46 (their no. 61) as well as CTH 47, documents that Suppiluliuma I issued for Niqmaddu of Ugarit, are edicts and not treaties.<sup>4</sup>

But these examples, among many more, call into question the soundness of Kitchen and Lawrence’s categorisation, not only as it is applied to individual texts, but as a system – a theory. In the preface they present a brief definition of their three categories: “**laws** that govern life in a given community, **treaties** that govern relations between such communities, and **covenant** used by or between individuals or them and groups or in dealings with deity” (Part 1, p. xviii; emphasis theirs). In the introduction, they phrase the definition somewhat differently: “(i) that **laws** (agreed or imposed) were a device for regulating conduct within a given society or social group. (ii) That **treaties** were used to govern relations (parity or vassals) between separate groups, or group(s) and/or a significant individual. (iii) That **covenant** could be used to define relations between individuals on the purely human level, or between individual(s) and deity” (Part 1, p. xxii; emphasis theirs; a third version of the definition is given in Part 3, p. xiii). They do not explain how this scheme may correspond to indigenous categories, or to the ways the documents under discussion were conceptualised by those who produced them.

<sup>1</sup> Eidem 2011, pp. 310–345, followed by editions of the texts, LT 1–5 (with copies and photographs). On the last page of Part 3, in the postscript, the authors note the publication of Eidem’s book.

<sup>2</sup> Lauinger 2015, pp. 133–152, 373–390.

<sup>3</sup> Lauinger 2012.

<sup>4</sup> See now Devecchi 2013 for a concise exposition of what defines treaties as distinct from edicts and instructions; and Devecchi 2015, pp. 9–60 for a more detailed discussion of the definition, form, and corpus of extant treaties issued by Hatti.

Their definition of law elides the much-debated question of what relation texts such as the Laws of Hammurabi (their no. 14) bore to laws that actually governed life in the communities where they were composed. When they address this question in Part 3 they oversimplify it, as if the debate involved a binary choice between seeing the law collections as “binding in ancient law courts” (p. 23), or “definitive statements of ‘law,’” versus seeing their contents as “mere scholastic theoretical inventions” (p. 24), or “arbitrary concoctions” (p. 56); they argue that the law collections present abstract statements that correspond to real-life cases, citing several such cases to prove their point – which roughly represents the *communis opinio*. It may be noted in passing that the “Old Assyrian Governance Laws” (no. 12) find a somewhat closer analogy in *Robert’s Rules of Order* than in the law collections. Kitchen and Lawrence observe that one of these documents bears the designation *tašīmtum*, which they render “rule” or “ruling(s)” (Part 2, pp. 20, 233–234), without noting that the very same word occurs in the Laws of Hammurabi (prologue, ii:22) in a different sense.

And what then of edicts, such as the many issued by Hammurabi’s near contemporaries, which certainly did govern the communities for which they were issued – as the law collections may not have<sup>5</sup> – what are their grounds for excluding these? In native Babylonian terminology *šimdatum*, “decree,” may denote an edict, or the Laws of Hammurabi,<sup>6</sup> or even a treaty, in particular, the one between Sumu-numḫim of Šadlaš and Ammi-dušur of Nērebtum (their no. 18). The Ugaritic word *mašmattu*, formed from the same root, is used to designate the decree Suppiluliuma II issued to Niqmaddu stipulating the tribute of Ugarit (their no. 77), which Kitchen and Lawrence classify as a “treaty” while acknowledging its resemblance to an “edict” (Part 1, p. 647; Part 2, p. 66).<sup>7</sup> They note the cognate relationship between the words *šimdatum* and *mašmattu* in the paragraphs that constitute their “Related Notes on Terminology” (section 6 of Ch. 9, which is Part 2 of Part 2 [i.e., Volume 2], pp. 233–244). They do not observe the lack of correspondence between most of the terms they list there and the categorisation they impose on the documents that use them.<sup>8</sup> The validity of their criteria for including documents in the category “treaties,” or excluding them, may be assessed by comparing their choices with those of Devecchi for the documents issued by the kingdom of Ḫatti. Besides CTH 46 and 47 (mentioned above), Devecchi excludes the documents issued for the *ḫabiru* (CTH 27; Kitchen and Lawrence’s no. 44), for the town of Tiliura (CTH 89; their no. 70), for one Eḫli-šarruma (? CTH 123; their no. 78) and for the men of Išmerikka (CTH 133; their no. 53), determining on various grounds that these are not treaties but either edicts or documents of internal administration.<sup>9</sup> While Kitchen and Lawrence include those documents, they seem to omit altogether – it is difficult to be wholly certain, since their volumes lack a concordance – the treaty of Arnuwanda I with the

<sup>5</sup> On the function and implementation of edicts (or decrees), their relation to law collections, and the question of the latter’s effective role, see *in extenso* Veenhof 1997–2000.

<sup>6</sup> It is so used by the scribe who wrote the Late Old Babylonian copy of the Laws of Hammurabi published by Finkelstein (1967).

<sup>7</sup> An amended edition of this text (RS. 11.772+) is given by Bordreuil and Pardee (2009), no. 36.

<sup>8</sup> One of the most-discussed terms, *adê*, has recently received fresh treatment by Lauinger (2013), whose inquiry into not only the textual but the material evidence of extant *adê* tablets, together with their archaeological contexts, yields the conclusion that the word fundamentally means neither treaty nor loyalty oath (though it embraces those senses) but duty transformed into destiny.

<sup>9</sup> Devecchi 2015, pp. 25–28.

elders of Ura (CTH 144) and the treaty between Niqmaddu of Ugarit and Aziru of Amurru (RS 19.68). Meanwhile, apparently having overlooked its identification, they register the treaty of Hittite king with the men of Pahlhuwa (CTH 212) under “no. 8obis” in Excursus II (Part 1, p. 1086).<sup>10</sup>

What about “covenant”? To which documents does this category, which they say is meant “to define relations between individuals ... or between individual(s) and deity,” apply? None, evidently, except for selected passages of the Hebrew Bible. These the authors have slotted into the sequence at points corresponding to a certain preconceived mapping of the biblical history of Israel onto ancient Near Eastern chronology. Yahweh’s promise to David, as formulated in 2 Sam. 7:1–17 and 1 Chron. 17:1–15, finds a place as no. 85, II, dated to the early 10th century BCE, alongside a snippet stating that Jonathan made a covenant with David (1 Sam. 18:3–4; no. 85, I), which is dated some decades earlier – as if the writing of the text were simultaneous with what it narrates, and the Bible were merely a discontinuous tape recording of the past! To these passages the notes contained in the second volume add Psalm 89, which refers to Yahweh’s covenant with David, as well as excerpts from Psalm 132 and Jer. 33 (Part 2, pp. 85–86). Rewinding the tape a couple of centuries, No. 84 is Joshua 24:1–28, the narrative of Yahweh’s speech to the Israelites at Shechem, the Israelites’ response, and Joshua’s writing it up in a document, which Kitchen and Lawrence date to “c. 1210 BC” (Part 1, p. 899). No. 82, I comprises a series of long sections of Exodus and Leviticus, giving Yahweh’s covenant with Israel at Sinai, dated “c. 1260 BC in origin” (Part 1, p. 695); no. 82, II consists of “supplementary statutes” in Numbers, including the prescription for inducing an abortion in a woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5:11–31); and no. 83 gives the entire text of Deuteronomy 1–32, dated “c. 1220 BC” (Part 1, p. 775). Scrolling farther back through the Torah, nos. 30–33 are excerpts from Genesis that narrate the making of covenants by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob with other persons; these passages (in which, curiously, *ḇarīt* is rendered “treaty,” rather than “covenant” as elsewhere) Kitchen and Lawrence date to “traditionally c. 19<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries BC” (Part 1, p. 235). According to what tradition? Nos. 34–35, dated likewise, are two more passages from Genesis: Yahweh’s speech to Noah proclaiming a covenant with him after the deluge (Gen. 9:8–17), and a narrative in which Yahweh proclaims a covenant with Abraham (Gen. 15:7–21). Interestingly, in transliterating these passages the authors have run the linguistic development of Hebrew backwards so as to produce a consonantal text representing the language of the periods to which they assign the passages, as they explain, because these texts “do not currently exist in accessible copies from the periods they represent, real or otherwise” (Part 2, p. 32). Are we to understand that God spoke to Noah, Abraham, and Moses in the forms of (proto-) Hebrew that Kitchen and Lawrence reconstruct? In comparing Gen. 15:7–21 to ALT \*456 and the treaties from Mari (Part 2, p. 34; Part 3, p. 74) do they mean to imply that God followed current Middle Bronze Age practice in establishing his covenant with Abraham? Later in the second millennium, did God study Hittite treaties in order to formulate the covenant at Sinai; did Moses do so in order to compose Deuteronomy?

<sup>10</sup> For the treaty between Niqmaddu and Aziru, see Schwemer 2005, pp. 163–164, and for the treaties with Ura and Pahlhuwa see Devecchi 2015, pp. 93–96, with references to earlier publications.

Altogether the biblical material occupies an entire volume's worth of pages – Nos. 82 and 83 alone occupy more than 200 pages – and these are not texts for which the world lacks good editions. Their omission would have rendered the first volume (Part 1) physically manageable, at no loss to the reader. But their inclusion is evidently the whole point of the work. The goal of establishing “the date and origins of the Hebrew covenant” (Part 1, p. xx) is never overtly stated in these terms, being rather camouflaged by such assertions as, “this work aims to collect and present the main basic documents ... and to study their history and interrelations through the last three millennia BC” (p. xix), in order to discover what becomes “self-apparent *from the data themselves*” (p. xxi; emphasis theirs). Nevertheless, the true objective is obvious throughout, and it is drummed out *ad nauseam* in Part 3. There, Kitchen and Lawrence's interest in the rules governing Assyrian merchant communities in Anatolia – an interest so intense that they embark on the theoretical exercise of reconstructing laws and inscriptions that are not extant (pp. 40–45)<sup>11</sup> – proves to arise from their desire to draw an analogy between Assyrians and “Hebrews” as communities dwelling in a foreign land among people of different customs, each group “ruled by, and owing allegiance to, an external and essentially separate source” (Part 3, p. 46), the city of Assur in the one case and Yahweh in the other! The authors also take pains to explain that reports about the making of treaties in the Mari correspondence are not identical to the treaties themselves (pp. 65–66), for just so, the “‘patriarchal’ treaties” are not identical to reports about them in Genesis (pp. 70–71), and “this is *exactly* the same situation” found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, which give reports of Yahweh's covenant with Israel (p. 117; emphasis theirs). The idea that the god of Israel took Old Assyrian colony governance as his model is intriguing, to put it mildly, and so is the proposition that books of the Torah are *exactly* like letters in the Mari archives. At the other end of their historical sequence, Kitchen and Lawrence adduce the manuscript transmission of the work of Polybius (not in its entirety), which gives the text of the treaty between Hannibal of Carthage and Philip of Macedon (their no. 105; Part 1, Excursus I, pp. 1075–1076), to support – as if to prove – the proposition that the covenants with Israel and the patriarchs were likewise faithfully transmitted from their putative second-millennium origins onward (Part 2, p. 109; Part 3, p. 241). Besides fallacious logic, the comparison exhibits the naïve privileging of writing and documents over oral communication and action that is evident throughout the work under review.

At length the reader arrives at the authors' central argument, to wit, that the covenant with Israel, in the versions given in the Torah and in Joshua 24, “belongs squarely and exclusively in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium ... and nowhere else” (Part 3, p. 119, discussing Joshua 24), for it “mirrors exactly what is to be found ... in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-millennium Hittite corpus” (p. 125, discussing Deuteronomy). These texts cannot possibly be dated to any later period, they insist, because the elements of the covenant and their sequence are just like those of late 14th–13th century Hittite treaties (the format of which, as they understand it, they outline repeatedly on pp. 96–97 and 99–100). The biblical covenants comprise a “title-line” (in “speaker's” format), historical prologue, stipulations (or laws), ceremony (and oath), witnesses, deposit of the document (with

<sup>11</sup> Their endeavour commences with an outline derived from the nuanced inquiry conducted by Veenhof (1994/1995), and grows into a survey under the subheading “Laws deducible without extant ‘codes’” (p. 41), dependent on Veenhof 2003. On Old Assyrian law and legal practice, see now Hertel 2013, and in particular pp. 77–88 on the non-extant stela.

a prescription for regular reading of it), and blessings as well as curses (see, e.g., pp. 126–127, discussing Exodus 20:1ff) – not just curses. Since it does not suffice to make the assertion over and over again, the authors also present itemisations and comparative lists of elements in the biblical accounts and other groups of texts (pp. 124, 127, and 134–135). This material goes on for about 100 pages, and then beyond (Part 3, pp. 117–214, plus various passages throughout the volume). In sum, Part 3 in all its prolixity constitutes a massively redundant matrix for a pre-determined understanding of the biblical text.

The proposition that the format of the covenant(s) with Israel matches that of treaties issued by Hatti in the imperial period, and not those of any other period, requires adjusting the identity of elements of the covenant, in its several versions, as well as making ad-hoc excuses for differences in the format of several Hittite treaties. For instance, the omission of blessings and curses from the Aleppo treaty (their no. 67) is attributed to the parties' close relationship (though the same does not apply to "the all-too-closely related kings of Tarhuntassa"), while "similar omissions" in certain vassal treaties "stem from a wish to demonstrate friendly trust by the overlord in his subordinate" (pp. 98–99). The categorical distinction between human witnesses (as in the Aleppo treaty as well as the two with Tarhuntassa) and divine ones seems to escape Kitchen and Lawrence. So "the Hebrews" (meaning Israel) can be witnesses to their own covenant (Joshua 24:22; p. 120), or else stelae can be witnesses (Exod. 24:4; p. 126), standing in the place of the gods of Hatti and its treaty partners. That Neo-Assyrian documents such as the succession treaties of Esarhaddon were also deposited and (supposed to be) periodically read to those under oath is to be ignored.<sup>12</sup> It is immaterial that across all periods "Thus speaks (the sovereign)" is a normal mode of introducing a communication from sovereign to subject, as for instance in the messages Rab-shakeh conveys to Hezekiah and the people of Jerusalem (2 Kings 18:19, 29). The combination of "descriptive" with "speaker's" format in composing the title-line of Deuteronomy (Deut. 1:1–5) is explained by reference to such a combination in the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusili III (p. 122), for, of course, Moses was raised in Egypt ...

All of the authors' claims are simply "observable fact" (p. 127), once the texts have been forced, like unbaked dough, into the forms made to produce the desired outcome. The shape of these is defined in the introduction to Part 1, where Kitchen and Lawrence present a template comprising 12 elements that may be present or absent in a given document pertaining to their three categories (pp. xxiii–xxv). Thus they elevate their theoretical constructs to the status of ideal forms, logically prior to any particular instantiation of treaty, law, or covenant.

Notwithstanding the ideological framework in which the texts are embedded, an extensive (if not comprehensive) set of good editions of ancient Near Eastern treaties and related documents would be useful to both specialists and non-specialists. Kitchen and Lawrence caution that their work "is not intended to replace existing standard editions of any given group of texts here included" (Part 1, p. xxii), which is reasonable. Neither are – for example – Loeb editions; they are simply intended to be accurate and serviceable. Parts 1 and 2 may fairly be assessed by that standard.

<sup>12</sup> Deposit is indicated in §35 of Esarhaddon's succession treaty (esp. ll. 408–409; see now Lauinger 2012, pp. 98–99, 112), and reading is indicated by contextual evidence; for the probable circumstances of deposit and reading, see Lauinger 2013, esp. p. 114, with references there.



To begin with, the treatment of the texts is practically designed to make troublesome reading. Kitchen and Lawrence apparently envision different readerships for the odd and even pages of Part 1: while employing diacritics in transliteration, in the translations they render names and untranslated terms into Anglicised spellings instead – so that Ninḫursag on the left-hand page becomes Ninkhursag on the right-hand page – but they do so inconsistently; for example, *Ha-zu-wa-an*<sup>ki</sup> becomes Khazuwan (p. 25) or Hassuwan (p. 33). They employ an idiosyncratic mode of transliteration that is out of step with the discipline, and they do this inconsistently, too. In most of the Akkadian-language texts they render logograms and some determinatives into a form of Akkadian chosen according to broad chronological parameters (e.g., *awīlum* in the early second millennium, *amēlu* in the mid-second millennium). This procedure yields a curious hybrid between transliteration and normalisation that properly represents neither the writing of the text nor the linguistic understanding of it. They do not, however, do the like with Hittite-language texts, for which instead they employ standard transliteration conventions, nor with Eblaite texts, nor the single Elamite text (no. 8), which is supposedly a treaty between Narām-Sîn of Akkad and a ruler in Susa.<sup>13</sup> Deepening the confusion between text and interpretation, the authors have provided their transliterations with modern punctuation, as if they were translations. (Word dividers in texts that have them are however ignored.)

The layout of the transliterations follows not the format and lineation of the texts themselves, though these are indicated, but the sense divisions applied by the authors. These sense divisions are encoded in a forest of paragraph numbers and sometimes letters as well, superimposed on top of those pertaining to the text or its manuscripts, producing an organisational scheme whereby the interpretation of the text on its own terms is subordinated to the structure of the authors' analysis (following the template expounded in the introduction to Part 1). The notes to the texts in Part 2 receive their own paragraph numbers that do not correspond to the paragraph numbers given to the texts, creating unnecessary difficulty in matching the note to the passage it annotates, especially when the note omits reference to line numbers or other elements of the text's format. Relatively little annotation, however, is devoted to supporting the reading of the texts or illuminating the authors' interpretive choices. Typically the first paragraph of notes (or more) serves to introduce the text, and this material could easily have been accommodated on the page prefacing each text in Part 1, where usually a great deal of space is left blank. Notes that do support the reading and interpretation could have been accommodated at the foot of the page, set in the font size employed in Part 1 (instead of the much larger font size employed in Part 2), for the margins are quite large; meanwhile, commentary about cultural or historical context could have been relegated to Part 3 along with the rest of that kind of material.

<sup>13</sup> If this is a treaty it is a strange one indeed, what with its repetition of what sounds like a devotional refrain (§§2, 4, 6, 8, 10), the promise to prepare, maintain, and honour statues (§§9, 10, 17), the wish that the honouree's statue be approved and his wife blessed with fertility (§20), and the near-total absence of anything resembling treaty stipulations. (Cf. the translation by Koch [2005], with different paragraphing.) Kitchen and Lawrence's insistence that this text shares the same structure as that of the Vulture Stela of Eannatum (Part 3, pp. 20–22) disregards its actual content, and the comparanda they cite for the erection of a statue, "the sure mark of submission to a superior ruler," are specious (p. 21, with n. 33); the erection of stelae by the sovereign is not analogous to the supposed erection of his statue by his subject, unparalleled in other treaties.



Choices about how to organise content belong to the authors, of course, but choices about how to present it on the page belong to the publisher, too, and it is astonishing that a publisher as experienced in the field as Harrassowitz did not serve this work better. The layout of the volumes, with varying font sizes and line spacing, as well as plenty of blank space, makes them exceptionally difficult to use even without considering their bulk. The typesetting of the transliterations has to be described as sloppy: diacritics drop within capital letters and plop inside of superscripted text; miniature superscripted numerals and letters that signify different things (determinatives, column or line numbers, etc.) are crammed together without any visual indicator to discriminate which is what; half-brackets (omitted from the list of “brackets-conventions” on p. xvii) have mutated into inverted commas throughout. The authors claim that they both have “seen everything for purposes of proof-checking and general review” (Part 1, p. xxi), but they missed many mistakes that mar their work, even in prominent places (for example, the running header for no. 58A in Part 1 identifies it as “Suppiluliuma I of Hatti & Arizu of Amurru” and the running headers for Part 3, Chs. 2–5 give the chapter titles as “Third Millenium [*sic!*],” etc.). Typographical errors abound, and no editor caught the authors’ own spelling errors (e.g., “Wilke” for Wilcke, alongside “Uruinimga,” Part 3, p. 3) or helped them to make consistent spelling choices – so, for example, the Kaska are “Gasgaeans” here (Part 1, p. 314), “Kasceans” there (pp. 355–364, 1039–1051; Part 2, pp. 103–105), “Kasceans” elsewhere (Part 2, p. 41, then “Kaskaean” on the next page). Everywhere they are “hillbillies,” who did not merit historical prologues to their treaties (Part 2, p. 103), “utterly unruly” and “relatively uncouth” (Part 3, p. 89) or even “the wildest and most uncouth” (p. 92) people, upon whom the Hittites just could not impose civilisation. One is reminded of the rhetoric employed by colonising powers, and colonists of European descent, against the indigenous populations of the Americas whom they violently dispossessed, often using treaties as instruments of subjugation.

Plenty of linguistic as well as substantive details raise suspicions about the authors’ command of the material they treat. Their rendering of certain names has no basis in the sources or in scholarship. For example, the name Niqmaddu is given as “Niqlmad,” although the divine name Addu is not thus apocoped in the texts, and no justification is offered for this peculiar spelling. The Hurrian name of the storm god is (usually) given as “Teshup,” although it has long been known that the medial consonant is the geminated allophone and the final consonant is voiced (so the name is Teššub). The kings we know as Hattusili and Mursili are called “Hattusil” and “Mursil,” disregarding the form of these names in Hittite as well as their spelling in the original texts, while other Hittite royal names, such as Arnuwanda and Muwatalli, are provided with a nominative ending -s, in contravention of Hittitological practice. Few scholars would claim to possess competence in all the languages of the sources encompassed in this work, and it is not at all clear that Kitchen and Lawrence do. Their transliteration and translation of the Hittite Laws (no. 36) essentially replicate what is found in H. A. Hoffner’s edition (1997), including his mistakes. To follow Hoffner’s interpretation of *para tarnumar* – the Hittite equivalent of Sumerian *ama-ar-gi<sub>4</sub> gar* or Akkadian *andurāram šakānum*, which they render “establish release, freedom,” and the like<sup>14</sup> – as “change (someone’s) social status” (Hittite Laws, §§34, 36) attests ignorance of scholarship on the subject,

<sup>14</sup> For example, Laws of Ur-Nammu (their no. 9), ll. 133–134, 200 (§4); Laws of Hammurabi (their no. 14), §117, 280.

or of Hittite, or both. In the treaty between Zidanta of Hatti and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna (no. 40; CTH 25), they translate forms of *wete-/weda-*, “to build,” alternately as “furnish” and “refurbish.” To any Assyriologist, it would be obvious that Mušnaddu in ALT \*456 (no. 29) is a personal name; not discerning this, Kitchen and Lawrence “translate” it as “the force(?)” (ll. 21, 28). Their translation of ALT 2 (no. 42) is flat wrong, out of accord with their transliteration, unsupported by any explanatory note, or all of the above at numerous points. For example:

l. 22: The text reads not *ù lu tu-te-er-šu*, as they transliterate, but *ù la tu-te-er-šu*, (more or less) as they translate. Further on, *iš-ša-bat-ma* does not yield their translation “(if someone else) should seize him”; this would require the reading *iš-ša-bat-šu* as well as an emendation of the anterior past *iššabat* to a modal present.

l. 24: EN-*šu* cannot be *bēlī-šu* (as they transliterate it), inasmuch as it is nominative (as they translate it); likewise in ll. [44,] 45, and 49.

l. 25: The basis for translating *ālik pānīšu* as “a man to go in search of him” is not explained.

ll. 27–28: IR-*ia* cannot be *ardī-ya* and IR-*šu* cannot be *ardī-šu*, since the one is nominative and the other accusative. The verb that is misread *ú-te-er-šu*, and mistranslated as a passive, is *ut-te-er-šu*, “he returns (the slave to) him,” or else possibly *tú-te-er-šu* (given the use of persons herein), following “my oath” (l. 28), which refers to the oath given as direct speech in the preceding line.

l. 32: Not knowing that LÚ.MÍ<sup>rum</sup> is a compound logogram, Kitchen and Lawrence misrepresent this sign sequence and mistranslate it. On the use of LÚ.MÍ<sup>rum</sup> and MUNUS.LÚ<sup>rum</sup> in the Alalah IV corpus, see Niedorf 2008, pp. 301–302.

ll. 36–37: The first *šumma* introduces the oath to be sworn (missing in the break), not a conditional clause. Asseverative oaths in ll. 46 and 50 are misunderstood as well.

l. 72: Kitchen and Lawrence fail to recognise that LUGAL ERIN<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ *Hu[r-ri]* is a construct phrase, “king of the Hurrian troops” (although they get it right in the next line), and they mistranslate the clause in which it appears as “or the King against the Hurrian warriors be hostile”; indeed, the entire paragraph is mistranslated. At the beginning of l. 72, restore not [*šum-m*]a but [LUGAL], and restore «*ta*»-*na-kir* in the second half. In its entirety the final paragraph states, “[The king] of the Hurrian troops is my lord. If you become hostile to the king of the Hurrian troops, I shall not break the oath of the king of the Hurrian troops, my lord, (rather) these terms are released from the oath” (meaning this treaty between Alalah and Tunip will be invalidated if one of the two parties breaks faith with the king of the Hurrian troops).<sup>15</sup>

Also, had they brought their research up to date Kitchen and Lawrence would have learned that Tell ‘Acharneh (not Hama) is now identified as the site of Tunip (cf. Part 2, pp. 36, 41).<sup>16</sup>

The treatment of ALT 2 displays inadequate knowledge of cuneiform, Akkadian, and relevant scholarship, and this is not an isolated case. The types of errors enumerated above raise questions about Kitchen and Lawrence’s capacity to read and translate texts in languages more poorly known than Akkadian and Hittite. Neither author is known for scholarship on the Ebla

<sup>15</sup> See my translation of ALT 2 on line at eTACT: <http://www.etana.org/node/577> (where it appears uncredited).

<sup>16</sup> Preliminary reports on the excavations at Tell ‘Acharneh are published in Fortin 2006.

tablets, after all, or on Elamite, Sumerian, or indeed most any of the languages and corpora treated in their work aside from Egyptian texts and perhaps the Bible. Deficiencies in their command of Assyriological scholarship, meanwhile, are complemented by what might generously be described as selective engagement with biblical studies; references to recent scholarship on Exodus and Deuteronomy, for example, are conspicuous by their absence.<sup>17</sup> To conclude, the volumes of texts and notes (Parts 1 and 2) are neither handy to use, as better-organised ones could be, nor are their contents sound, to the extent that they do not comprise reliable, up-to-date editions of the texts supported by appropriate annotation and informed by current research.

The foregoing comments only begin to develop the criticisms the work under review warrants. It is worth addressing one final remark to Part 2, Indexes 2-3, which are the “Statistical List, including: Prices, Fines & Tribute to be paid, & Etc. [*sic!*]” and the “Index to the Statistical List in approximate rising order of amounts/values cited.” With these lists, the authors say, “the exchange-values of the wide range of entities involved can be readily accessed by topic, by value and by date” (Part 2, p. xix). Perhaps the compilation of such “statistics” – an endeavour that presumes the data simply exist as such, independent of the authors’ categorisation and arrangement of them – is meant to provide an objective, because quantitative, means of investigating a multifarious and miscellaneous body of information. What it actually does is to void the information compiled of its meaning. Kitchen and Lawrence treat all penalties, costs, assessments, levies, and even sacrifices as equivalent, fungible and convertible into each other, as if there is no substantive difference between monetary compensation and an expiatory offering, between a price and a fine, a fine and a thrashing, or between any of these and rape (a type of punishment they seem to have omitted) or homicide! This approach should provoke qualms even in a partisan of the present age’s idolisation of metrics.

But enough. The capacious margins of these volumes afford readers plenty of room to record their own corrections and expostulations.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

John MacGinnis, *A City From The Dawn of History: Erbil in the Cuneiform Sources*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014. Pp. 128. ISBN: 978-1-78297-797-1. (Paperback).

“Situated on a major trade route into Iran and commanding the rich plains to the west, Erbil was destined to be a great city” (p. 38). Like Aleppo and Damascus, the city of Erbil (Hawler), which now has claims to being one of the oldest inhabited cities in the world, is also a gateway to the history and the capital of the Kurdish region. The author notes in the book’s Preface (p. 9) that this project of collecting and assessing the evidence for the history of Erbil as documented in the cuneiform sources originated in the context of the work carried out for and by the High Commission for Erbil Citadel Revitalisation (HCECR). The HCECR authority and the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), with the support of UNESCO, sought to develop and implement the regeneration of the urban centre of Erbil. This vision resulted in the evolution of the Master Plan for Erbil, a comprehensive strategy for regenerating the historic city through a co-ordinated approach comprising the documentation, preservation, presentation and utilisation of the city’s architectural heritage. As part of this assessment, John MacGinnis was commissioned to create a comprehensive collection of the information preserved in cuneiform sources pertaining to the history of Erbil. The scope, tone and format of this publication by MacGinnis on the Erbil cuneiform sources needs to be reviewed with the Master Plan objectives in mind.

John MacGinnis is a specialist in the archaeology and epigraphy of the ancient Near East and research fellow of the University of Cambridge’s McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research. His research turned up nearly 300 cuneiform texts making reference to Erbil over a time frame stretching from the late third millennium to the mid-first millennium BC.

The study on Erbil in the cuneiform sources comprises, conveniently, three main sections: Introduction, Historical Analysis and The Sources. Maps are used effectively to illustrate key historical periods. Colour photographs of key works—tablets, inscriptions, reliefs, artefacts, sites—visually enhance the study. The bibliography (pp. 124–128) lists over 140 references, including many recent publications that will be of interest to those wanting to drill down and pursue further reading and research on particular topics. Footnotes have been kept to a minimum so as not to distract the reader’s attention.

In the first section (Introduction pp. 14–24), MacGinnis comments that “The city of Erbil lies at the foot of the piedmont of the Zagros mountains in a strategic position which makes it a natural gateway between Iran and Mesopotamia” (p. 14). According to MacGinnis, Erbil was one of the most important urban centres of ancient Mesopotamia (p. 15).

Unlike other major centres of the ancient Near East, the site of Erbil has not been extensively investigated. It has been the focus of three archaeological assessments: two, in 1997 and 2010, focusing on surface survey and remote sensing, and one, in 2009, evaluating the significance of the remains within their historical context and evaluating how to approach archaeological investigations within the existing topography (p. 15).

In the introductory section, MacGinnis gives a succinct overview on cuneiform writing (pp. 15–17) and provides a chronological framework for the periods in which the system was used in Mesopotamia (pp. 17–19). Then follows a synopsis of the cuneiform sources, reviewing their nature and distribution for each of the main periods: Uruk (4000–3000 BC), Early Dynastic (3000–2334 BC), Akkadian (2334–2193 BC), Gutian (2193–2120 BC), Ur III (2120–2004 BC), Old Assyrian (2004–1595 BC), Middle Assyrian (1595–1000 BC), Neo-Assyrian (1000–612 BC), Neo-Babylonian (612–539 BC), Achaemenid (539–330 BC), Hellenistic/Seleucid (330–126 BC), and Parthian (126 BC–224 AD).

The first section ends with some comments about the name of Erbil: MacGinnis reports that the name Erbil progresses from Irbilum in the Ebla texts, to Urbilum in the Ur III sources, to Urbeil in the Old

Babylonian sources and on to Arbail in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian sources. MacGinnis also notes that the understanding that the name means “(city of) four gods” is an erroneous folk etymology deriving from a literal interpretation of the fact that from the Middle Assyrian period onward the city’s name could be written using the cuneiform signs for “four” and “gods”. MacGinnis claims that this writing is simply scribal shorthand, as the signs are actually being used for their phonetic contents: in Akkadian “four” is *erbe* (or *arba*) and “god” is *il(u)*, hence a way of writing Erbil (Arbail).

In the second section (Historical Analysis pp. 26–44), MacGinnis systematically reviews the references to Erbil in the cuneiform sources from the main chronological periods. Erbil is attested in cuneiform texts from the late third millennium up until the mid-first millennium BC. According to MacGinnis, the first historical attestation records the city being sacked by Erridu-Pizir. In the Ur III period it was sacked by Shulgi and subsequently retaken by Amar-Sin, and then taken again in the second millennium by Shamshi-Adad I and Dadusha (p. 43). From the Middle Assyrian period, Erbil became the seat of a provincial government with palace and governor, the latter responsible for the reception of foreign dignitaries, receipt of tribute, collection of taxes, sending contributions to the temple of Aššur in Assur and command of the military establishment. The city was a springboard for military campaigns and the scene of celebrations upon their conclusion. On the civil side, Erbil benefited from the construction by Sennacherib of a canal bringing water to the city (p. 43).

In the Neo-Assyrian period the sources for Erbil are more abundant. There are over 200 references to it in the cuneiform texts, including official inscriptions of seven different kings, royal correspondence, administrative texts, hymns, reports on oracles and divination, a votive inscription and a cultic commentary. This increase in sources reflects the city’s prominence during this period. The city functioned as an important military stronghold and served as a natural point of departure and triumphant return for military campaigns in the northeast. As MacGinnis notes, triumphal entries into the city are attested for several Neo-Assyrian kings, including Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. With the carving up of the Assyrian empire after the fall of Nineveh, Erbil fell under the control of the Medes and references to the city in the sources dramatically decline.

Erbil also appears in famous inscription of Darius I at Behistun and the celebrated Passport of Nehtihur, an Aramaic document from Elephantine in Egypt. MacGinnis notes that when Alexander the Great pitted himself against Darius III the decisive battle Gaugamela was fought in the plains northwest of Erbil. This marked the transition to a new phase of civilisation and forms a fitting end to our account of Erbil in the cuneiform sources (p. 44).

In the third and final section (The Sources pp. 46–122), which is also the largest chunk of the book, the cuneiform sources are listed systematically in chronological order. They begin with the Ebla texts, followed by the Gutian sources, Ur III sources, Early Second Millennium sources, Middle Assyrian sources, Neo-Assyrian sources, and finally the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid sources. In the category on Neo-Assyrian sources, for example, the sources are organised into historical texts, grants/edicts, votive inscriptions, administrative texts, oracular pronouncements and divination, and hymns and ritual texts. Key examples are illustrated. Each entry is kept deliberately short; only the essential details referencing Erbil are included. The brevity and conciseness of each entry is in keeping with the objectives of the publication.

The references to Erbil in the cuneiform sources accentuate the historical significance of the city. The documentation also allows us to understand the context within which the city developed, prospered and declined. I was particularly interested in the reference to Erbil found in the votive inscription on the Tell Ahmar/Til Barsip Stele (p. 83), and here I must declare a personal interest, having worked at Tell Ahmar for ten seasons (1988–1997), with a team from The University of Melbourne, under the direction of Guy Bunnens. Tell Ahmar was conquered by Shalmaneser III in 856 BC, ending the reign of the Aramaean tribal leader Ahuni; Shalmaneser III renamed the city Kâr-Shalmaneser. The Tell Ahmar/Til Barsip Stele, now in the Louvre, Paris AO 11503, is dedicated by a provincial governor, represents the cult statue of Ishtar in the Egašankalamma in Erbil Citadel and illustrates the widespread popularity of her cult. The



stele, depicting Ištar standing on a lion, bears an inscription: “To Ishtar who lives in Arbil, his mistress, Aššur-dūr-pāniya, governor of Kar-Shalmaneser, has dedicated (this stele) for his life”. The example from Til Barsip serves to demonstrate Erbil’s prominence during the Neo-Assyrian period.

In recent decades, northern Iraq-Kurdistan, has become an area of important archaeological activity. Increasingly, as the commissioning of this work demonstrates, there is a need to engage and involve local as well as non-specialist communities in cultural heritage conservation, interpretation and protection efforts. As a number of critics, such as R. Bernbeck, have noted, “one of the most important factors for Middle Eastern archaeology is the recognition that the field of stakeholders extends beyond professional specialists.”<sup>1</sup> With the Erbil citadel Master Plan in mind, the study by MacGinnis more than meets its objective to compile a comparative collection of the information preserved in the cuneiform sources pertaining to the history of Erbil. MacGinnis has managed to distil a large body of material from almost 300 sources into one compact volume. The text is clearly presented, the organisation and structure are logical and easy to follow, and the maps and illustrations enhance the commentary on the cuneiform sources. MacGinnis makes the information on Erbil in the cuneiform sources easily accessible and available. For the future of ancient Near Eastern studies, there needs to be more publications like this one with the potential to reach a wide range of readers well beyond the traditional scientific archaeological community.

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Jean-Claude Margueron, *Mari. Capital of Northern Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium: The Archaeology of Tell Hariri on the Euphrates*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014. Pp. viii, 165. ISBN 978-1-7897-731-5. (Hardcover).

It is only possible to produce a synthesis of this type after a period of sustained research. This publication by Professor Jean-Claude Margueron, director of the excavations at Mari from 1979–2004, marks 70 years and more than 40 excavation campaigns by French archaeologists at Mari. It is noted in the Preface (p. vii) that it is time to present a new synthesis—some 40 years after that of André Parrot<sup>1</sup>—of the results obtained in the exploration of one of the great sites of the Near East. Also noteworthy is that it is time that such a work is published in English.

The book comprises eleven (I–XI) chapters. The sequence and order of the chapters, from the broad setting to specific finds, is logical and will greatly benefit readers less familiar with the history of the site. In this review, I will briefly outline each of the chapters as a way of summarising some of the key points, themes and findings presented in this welcome volume dedicated to the archaeology of Mari.

Chapter I (pp. 1–13) is concerned with the presentation of the site, covering the *tell*, the environment, the history of the archaeological exploration, and the operations in the main areas. It concludes with some comments on the history of Mari provided by the findings of the archaeological research.

Mari is the name of a city that existed from 2950 BC to 1760 BC, whose vestiges correspond to the site of Tell Hariri, situated in the Syrian Euphrates valley, near the modern frontier with Iraq. Mari was discovered in 1933, when a fragmentary statue was found at the site. Since that time, the site has been

<sup>1</sup> Bernbeck, R., 2012, “The political dimension of archaeological practices,” in *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, edited by D. T. Potts, pp. 87–105. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

<sup>1</sup> For a listing of the publications by A. Parrot on Mari see the bibliography in Margueron 2014, p. 164.

continuously excavated. By 2008, 45 campaigns had been carried out. It is noted that “Before the beginning of excavations, Tell Hariri appeared as a group of hills of different sizes, clearly organised in a concentric manner” (p. 1). In the centre is the main mound.

Mari occupies a central place in the Near East, but not a central place in relation to Mesopotamia. According to Margueron, “the borders of this region are difficult to define, except by the river, which imposes a vision of this space as an artery or corridor, a territory lying between two poles and serving to unite other regions. There, as a crossroads, it is not so much the borders of the region that are significant as the links which it provides” (p. 2). For Margueron, it is the Euphrates and its main tributaries that ensure the articulation of this geographical whole (p. 5).

Since December 1933, Mari has remained a constant in French archaeological research in the Near East. Over a period of 70 years, exploration at the site may be divided into four distinct phases based upon the discoveries and the research (p. 4):

- *Phase 1*: The first six campaigns, carried out before the Second World War from 1933 to 1938, include the discovery of the temple of Ishtar with its inscribed statuettes, the subsequent clearing of the great royal palace of the beginning of the second millennium with its works of art, paintings and some 15,000 whole and fragmentary tablets, and finally the unearthing of the Temple of Lions and the study of the High Terrace.
- *Phase 2*: After a 12-year interruption due to war, excavations resumed from 1951 to 1954 around the High Terrace and the edges of the Massif Rouge, with the study of the temples of Ninhursag, Shamash, Ishtar and Ninnizaza, and evidence of many statuettes.
- *Phase 3*: After a five-year interruption due to the Suez crisis, a new long sequence of research began, from 1960 to 1974 (11 campaigns). These campaigns were devoted first to the study of the northern esplanade of the High Terrace and its lower levels, and then, beginning in 1964, to the exploration of the palace of the middle of the third millennium.
- *Phase 4*: Another five-year interruption preceded the creation in 1979 of a new team directed by Jean-Claude Margueron. Twenty new campaigns took place between 1979 and 2004 with a program that emphasised understanding the city, its evolution and its integration into the natural environment. Since 2005 the excavations have been directed by Pascal Butterlin.

Three main periods of urban development have been defined for Mari. In the terminology of the project these are known as Cities I, II and III (p. 13).

- *City I*, founded around 2900 on a site with no previous human settlement, was accompanied by a regional infrastructure consisting of an irrigation network, a navigable canal and a derivative canal linking the city to the river.
- *City II* was the product of a complete reconstruction, probably carried out during the 26th century BC, and a reactivation of the entire hydraulic and urban structure. After a relatively short period of existence—a century and half or two centuries—it was completely destroyed, probably by Naram-Sin, king of Akkad.
- *City III*, built on the levelled ruins of this destruction, existed from the 23rd century to 1760 BC, first under the dynasty of the *Shakkanakku*,<sup>2</sup> who reconstructed the city, and then under the domination of the Amorite kings, whose last representative, Zimri-Lim, was defeated by Hammurabi of Babylon. The city never recovered from this destruction, although remains of the Middle Assyrian and Seleuco-Parthian periods indicate a sporadic occupation of the *tell*.

The phases, or stages of exploration (1–4), and the periods, or cities (I–III), outlined above are important, as they provide a convenient framework that underpins the structure of the information discussed and presented in this book.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakkanakku*: in the Akkadian world of the second half of the 3rd millennium, originally the name of a function conferred by the sovereign. At Mari, it signified a governor named by the Akkadians to exercise power in the conquered city. The name became attached to the dynasty that reconstructed City III at Mari. Margueron 2014, p. 160.

Chapter II (pp. 14–24) examines the foundation of Mari and its regional development. It begins with the foundation of the city on the Holocene terrace, discusses the system of canals, and looks at the organisation of the kingdom of Mari.

To understand Mari, it is necessary to understand its relation to (or isolation from) the Euphrates River. According to Margueron, the geomorphological study of the terrain shows unambiguously that the river could never have directly served the city, which was established about 2 km from the edge of the Holocene terrace. A canal linked the Euphrates and the city. It appears that the circular plan, the distance from the river and the linking of the site to the river by a canal are features that are closely related (p. 15). Here, the linking canal, the irrigation canal and the navigation canal are discussed in detail.

Chapter III (pp. 25–33) considers the historical stages represented at Mari: the foundation of Mari and City I (Early Dynastic I–II, 2950–c. 2650[?]), the re-foundation of Mari and City II (Early Dynastic III and the Akkadian period, 2550–2220), and the reconstruction of Mari and City III (*Shakkanakku* and the Amorite periods, 2220–1760).

One of the major discoveries of the last 30 years was that the history of Mari was not a smooth and continuous development, but was characterised by abrupt breaks and levelling followed by re-foundations, and by military defeats followed by reconstruction. Twice the city was able to rebuild itself, which clearly shows that Mari's reasons for existence were always present. The third break marks the end of the city (p. 25). The last 50 years of Mari, during which large residences and dwellings were built, are particularly well recorded in the texts. Based on these sources, it emerges Mari was coveted by a kingdom of upper Mesopotamia under the energetic action of Shamshi-Adda, then taken over by a branch of the legitimate dynasty in the person of Zimri-Lim with the help of the kingdom of Aleppo (p. 33). It is reported that it was under this dynasty that Mari was last active. Hammurabi took the city and burned it down in 1760.

Chapter IV (pp. 34–66) analyses the three cities and urbanism, considering morphological analysis of the *tell*, the defensive system and its development, the urbanism of City I, II, and III under *Shakkanakku*, and the modifications of the Amorite period. This chapter is one of the longest, and no doubt reflects the author's interests in this field of study.

Several major features characterise the urban system and city planning that existed during the 12 centuries of the history of Mari. Mari was protected by two concentric lines of defence, which was an exceptional and complex feature at the beginning of the era of urbanism. According to Margueron, this preconceived urbanism, rigorously carried out, demonstrates an exceptional sensitivity to the hydrological and climatic constraints sustained by mud-brick architecture, and a realistic vision of the possibilities for human communal life (p. 66). Because of the exceptional richness of evidence found, Mari provides an excellent example of communal building works (p. 58). The system created at Mari shows that the street network also served to rapidly evacuate rainwater, either by radial streets which were dug lower than the level of the houses, or by transverse streets that absorbed the water through their pavements (p. 59). Even more impressive, Mari possessed a system for capturing rainwater. For example, City II made use of buried channels that served this purpose (p. 59). In other Near Eastern cities of this period, notes Margueron, there is nothing that resembles channelling for water conveyance (p. 59). One of the largest channel networks at Mari is closely associated with the temple of Ishtar.

Chapter V (pp. 67–81) investigates the development of domestic architecture, in the form of the houses of City I, the urban domestic architecture in City II, and the houses and residences in City III.

Details of the different houses, workshops and installations of Cities I, II and III are discussed, including a bakery, pottery workshop, latrines and sewage network, and the residential unit of a high priest, among other architectural examples. Plans, reconstructions and photographs illustrate examples of the different domestic architecture across the site during the different periods. For instance, the House of the Donkey and the Wheel is typical of City I, characterised by a rectangular room with standardised dimensions within an enclosed space that is open to the sky, with a door onto the street and surrounded by a series of small outbuildings. It is in the houses of the domestic quarters of City I as well as in specialised workshops that evidence of artisanal activity was discovered: metallurgy, pottery, wheel-making, and dyeing (p. 67). Information concerning domestic buildings in City II as well as the houses and residences of City III are mentioned. The evidence for City II is not extensive and indicates a variety of living

conditions and occupations in the middle of the third millennium. It is reported that the houses and residences of City III have been greatly eroded.

Chapter VI (pp. 82–100) focuses on the religious monuments. It begins with the religious organisation of City II and considers the Mari model of the temple in City II and the particular case of the ‘Massif Rouge’ and its temple-tower. The activity in the temples of City II is also discussed. Then follow several sections on religious reorganisation and innovations of City III, and the development of foundation rites from City II to City III. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the originality of the sacred architecture at Mari.

Religious life at Mari is known only for Cities II and III. No temple has been found in City I, although a building in trench G may have been used for sacrifices. The origins of the religious forms remain obscure. The religious organisation of City II consisted of a concentration of a large number of sanctuaries and an administrative centre at the heart of the city, and it is also possible that isolated temples existed outside the urban fabric (p. 82). The main temples found in City II are discussed: the Temple of Ishtar, Temple of Ninni-zaza, Temple of Ishtar, Temple of Shamash, Temple of Ninhursag. Plans and reconstructions give a good idea of how these buildings would have appeared. The ‘Massif Rouge’ and temple tower, two religious structures forming a pair, are also discussed. According to Margueron, the religious universe of Mari appears in the 18th century to have been faithful to its own traditions, with a particularly strong root in the northern Syro-Mesopotamian domain, which confers an exceptional originality in comparison to all its neighbours. The religious organisation of City III is also analysed. The author notes that the appearance of texts provided a vital new element in understanding the religious organisation of City III. Henceforth, they provided written evidence that revealed the identity of the builder and enabled us to determine the chronology of the constructions and development of the site (p. 98).

Chapter VII (pp. 101–126) reviews the palaces, starting with the palace-sanctuary of City II, then the Phantom Palace (beginning of City III), the Great Royal Palace of City III, and finally the Little Eastern Palace of City III.

The palace of City II is distinguished by certain striking architectural features that provide much information on the aptitudes, originality and creativity of the architects who designed it in the middle of the third millennium. The Great Royal Palace of City III is the best known of the palaces of the Amorite dynasties and provides us with a broad image of the period of the Amorites (p. 113). The palace of Mari is a mirror of the civilisation of that time, providing us with the possibility of better understanding Babylon, the capital of a great kingdom of Mesopotamia, of which we know very little (p. 120). The unique nature of the Little Eastern Palace of City III lies in the fact that it contained two constructed tombs beneath the ground floor. This building performed two functions: it was a palace-hypogeum, but also a substitute palace (p. 124).

Chapter VIII (pp. 127–139) discusses the development of funerary practices, looking at the burials in City I, in City II, in the period of the *Shakkanakku*, in the Amorite dynasty, in the Khana period, in the Middle Assyrian period, and in the village of the Seleucid period.

Burials in City I include tombs constructed of mud brick without funerary objects (p. 127). Associated with the levels of occupation that followed the foundation of the city, some 60 tombs were excavated, often directly in the ground, or constructed in mud brick. The bodies were found in a stretched-out or folded position, with no particular orientation, and usually accompanied by funerary objects consisting of pottery, bronze vessels, weapons, tools, and elements of jewellery. Five monumental tombs in stone, built using corbelling, may belong to the end of the City I period, or possibly an intermediate period between Cities I and II (p. 127). The funerary material of City II is not abundant. Some tombs rich in ceramics as well as metal objects were found in areas F and K. Burials in the period of the *Shakkanakku* are more numerous, with more than 200 tombs and four types of burial. During the Amorite period the customary type of burial was within a jar buried in the earth beneath the house (p. 130). Burials in the Khana period were mostly dug directly in the earth, some burials were in jars, and some were found carefully placed at the base of the walls of the great hall 1 of the Little Palace (p. 130). From the Middle Assyrian period, three cemeteries containing more than 400 tombs have been found. Finally, 130 tombs

were excavated belonging to the Seleucid period; the burials of this period are reported to be very poor (p. 130).

Chapter IX (pp. 132–139) deals with objects and installations of everyday life, beginning with the nature of the material found, then moving on to discuss the importance of economic activities and artisanal production and the intensity of relations and contacts woven by Mari.

A brief outline of the objects and installations of everyday life is given, in an attempt to understand the importance of Mari as a centre of artisanal production and the nature and extent of the trade carried out (p. 132). Compared with other sections, the information presented in this chapter appears less detailed, possibly reflecting the wide diversity of material found. At the end of the chapter it is noted that the study of the material recovered in the different levels of City II and City III leads to the same conclusion: the city of Mari, established in a desert environment without any raw materials, could have existed only as a control centre of a commercial crossroads; this activity was exceptionally intense, and Mari benefited from its position to develop artisanal activities based on the importation of raw materials (p. 139).

As someone with a keen interest in ceramics, it was interesting to read that “countless pottery kilns” were discovered in “area L, under the Palace central space of the Sacred Precinct, under and at the foot of the precinct wall near the sector of the temple of Ishtar” (p. 137). Most of the pottery mentioned in this synthesis comes from tombs.

Chapter X (pp. 140–156) presents court art, sacred art and popular art, starting with art in the period of City I, then in City II, followed by art in the period of the *Shakkanakku* (beginning of City III), art in the period of the Amorite dynasty, and ending with art in the Middle Assyrian period.

In this chapter Margueron discusses mosaic panels, reliefs, glyptic art, jewellery, painting, and sculpture from the different periods represented at Mari. According to Margueron, originality, diversity of achievements, and artistic ingenuity are the dominating features of artistic production in City III at Mari, which take its place alongside that of City II (p. 156). Iconic works, such as the statues of Ishgi-Mari (king of Mari, temple of Ishtar), Ebih II (superintendent of Mari, temple of Ishtar), Ur-Nanshe (the singer, temple of Ninni-zaza), Ishtup-Ilum, Shakkanakku of Mari (City III), Iddin-Ilun, Shakkanakku of Mari (City III), the goddess holding the vessel of flowing water (City III), the bronze lion from the temple of Lions (City III), as well as the painting of the Investiture (City III) and the painting in the sanctuary of Ishtar, are among the selection discussed. The artistic quality of court art, sacred art and popular art at Mari leaves little or no doubt that “Mari should be considered to be one of the great artistic centres of the Syro-Mesopotamian world” (p. 156).

Chapter XI (pp. 157–159) concludes the book with a discussion on the historical data of Mari provided by the archaeological evidence.

The archaeological research at Mari confirms the site as one of the great cities of the Syro-Mesopotamian world. Margueron compares Mari’s significance with Susa, Ugarit, Uruk, Babylon and Assur. Although the existence of Mari was relatively short—10 to 12 centuries—it occurred at a time when the advent of the city and of urban life was accompanied by social and economic reorganisation in the Syro-Mesopotamian world, thus ensuring Mari’s place in history. For Margueron, the creation of Mari involved regional modification of the land on a grand scale, with the establishment of an irrigation network and the construction of a navigation canal 120 m long, as well as a derivation canal linked to the river, because the city was established on the Holocene terrace and not beside the river itself. The archaeological evidence indicates that Mari is the first example of strict urban planning that follows a rigorously circular plan, 1900 m in diameter, which reflects a concept of urban life concerned with protection of the population from flooding by the construction of an embankment and from human hostility by the creation of strong walls. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that the creation of Mari was planned as part of an economic policy to control a major trade route for essential commodities as well as create a large scale metallurgical production centre (p. 157).

For nearly a millennium, from its foundation to just before the victory of Hammurabi, Mari was the great centre, the capital of northern Mesopotamia, matched in the south by the domination of Uruk followed by that of Ur. This partition of the Syro-Mesopotamian basin into a northern province rooted in the Mediterranean region and the Anatolian world and a southern province oriented towards Iran and the

Gulf, which were united only for a short period of no more than a century under the domination of central Mesopotamia (Akkad then Babylon I), corresponds perfectly to the structure of this large region that linked two exterior hubs, Europe and Asia, by its river basin. In the great Mesopotamian adventure, Mari was the key to the north (p. 159).

The history of Mari presented in this synthesis is the result of detailed archaeological research. This history gleaned from archaeology illuminates for us the major outlines of a state of civilisation, of economic thought, of modes of action and of change over the long term (p. 159). Margueron's knowledge and experience saturate the pages of this synthesis. Even though the publication is a translation it retains an engaging and informative style. The discussion of archaeological findings is not overly burdened with theoretical debate. A good selection of topographical plans, aerial photographs, maps, sections, figures, reconstructions and other images (numbered Figs. 1–180) enhance the commentary and bring the ancient site to life.

Professor Margueron dedicates this important book on Mari “to the people of Syria and to their archaeological and cultural heritage.” In the Preface he states,

Today, the ancient city of Mari again faces destruction because of War. I wish to add my voice to all who deplore the present conflict in Syria and its devastating effects on the lives of Syrians and on their archaeological and cultural heritage. This heritage under threat very sadly includes Mari and other sites that have provided so much precious information on the ancient history of the Near East. May the information they still hold not be lost to us (p. vii).

With these comments in mind, I feel fortunate that I had the opportunity to visit Tell Hariri/Mari in 1990s. I can still vividly remember wandering around the remains of the Great Royal Palace of City III. In closing, if there are any positives to be derived from the current conflict in Syria, one of them may be that excavation projects, like Mari, have the time and opportunity to publish reports and syntheses on their research, as a result of interruptions to fieldwork. It is hoped that other projects will follow the model established by Professor Margueron with his synthesis on Mari, which will be of interest not just to specialists but to anyone with a concern for the archaeology of the ancient Near East.

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Robin Derricourt, *Antiquity Imagined: The Remarkable Legacy of Egypt and the Ancient Near East*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015. Pp. xi, 288. ISBN: 978-1-78453-273-8. (Hardcover).

It was with immense pleasure that I read Professor Robin Derricourt's book, *Antiquity Imagined: The Remarkable Legacy of Egypt and the Ancient Near East*, as it highlighted that alternative interpretations of antiquity are almost as old as antiquity itself. As described in the Introduction, “The supposed mystical knowledge of the ancients; alien landings at the pyramids; conflicts of identity and race extended back to the distant past” (p. 1). *Antiquity Imagined* “surveys a range of imagined, invented, hoped-for worlds applied to the pasts of Egypt, Israel/Palestine and beyond.” The writer divulges the book cannot cover all the different ways in which people in the last 2000 years imagined the previous 3000 years. For this reason, selected major themes are discussed in each of the main chapters. It is pointed out this “presentation reflects the author's partiality and background, both in professional archaeology and as a publisher of world history” (p. 251).

In reading *Antiquity Imagined* I found the style and tone of the text to be highly engaging. The broad chronological structure enhances the development of the narrative. Derricourt includes an ample selection



of evocative quotations that are sprinkled liberally throughout the book. These sources highlight key theories and historical developments; the references for quotes are conveniently contained at the end of the book, so as not to distract or disturb the flow. A list of references is provided—sources and further reading—for each chapter in the annotated bibliography (pp. 268–280). Illustrations are used effectively throughout the volume and a map listing key sites helps orient readers. A useful index is also included (pp. 281–288).

*Antiquity Imagined: The Remarkable Legacy of Egypt and the Ancient Near East* contains 11 chapters. As the title suggests, Chapters 1–6 are concerned with Egypt and Chapters 7–10 examine the ancient Near East, with a focus on the Holy Land. The final Chapter (11) concludes with comments on the changing and unchanging narratives in the history of Egypt and the ancient Near East.

Chapter 1 (pp. 14–41) looks at how ancient Egypt has been seen as a source of hidden mysteries and spiritual insights. Known as Egyptosophy, this chapter covers a broad range of images of ancient Egypt, from the Classical world, through medieval and Renaissance Europe, to nineteenth-century cults and contemporary New Age movements, including the esoteric tradition of Hermeticism.

Chapter 2 (pp. 42–71) reviews the pyramids of Egypt, in particular the Great Pyramid of the Old Kingdom pharaoh Khufu at Giza. It is noted that the pyramids have fascinated and intrigued visitors since classical times. In modern times, this fascination is evidenced by increasing pyramidologies or what critics call ‘pyramidiocy’. The range and diversity of alternative pyramidologies are substantial. Derricourt reports that at least 30 different uses or meanings have emerged over two millennia (p. 42). These alternatives include: a repository for ancient knowledge, a tool for predicting the future, a training centre in ancient mysteries, a repository for sacred objects, or a giant water pump. (p. 43)

Chapter 3 (pp. 72–103) explores aspects of the Egyptian mummy and its changing image. It is noted the mummy has come to serve many functions: medicine, paint colorant and fertiliser. Mummies were collected, exhibited and publically unwrapped. The mummy has also been the subject of countless films. Following the discovery and disturbance of the tomb of Tutankhamun, belief in the curse of the mummy spread conspicuously.

Chapter 4 (pp. 104–129) analyses Egyptocentrism, a case study in imperial and colonial ideology. Hyperdiffusion and the idea that Egypt was the source of inventions, innovations and ideas that spread throughout the world are discussed.

Chapter 5 (pp. 130–148) examines concepts of race and the negative impact they brought to images of the ancient Near East. Based on the idea of distinct physical races prevalent from the 18th century to mid-20th century, the notion of ancient Egypt as a white civilisation was advanced.

Chapter 6 (pp. 149–170) reviews a different aspect of racial models, seeing ancient Egypt in racial terms as a black African civilisation and black people as being at the origins of European culture. This chapter traces such movements from the 1830s to today, when Afrocentric political and ideological movements often place ancient Egypt at the core of their ideas.

Chapter 7 (pp. 171–190) moves from ancient Egypt to the ancient Near East (Levant). It reviews what modern scholarship understands about the period in which the canon of books in the Hebrew Bible (the Tanakh)/Old Testament and the theology behind them was formalised. These biblical texts present stories of the history of the Middle East which are fundamental in Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Chapter 8 (pp. 191–210) explores biblical archaeology and some themes in the deeply contested pasts in and around the Holy Land. Archaeological work in Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and beyond (Iraq and Anatolia), has substantially illuminated the periods of history in the biblical era, but religious affiliations, ideology and politics have influenced interpretations, debates and discussions.

Chapter 9 (pp. 211–219) discusses the Ten Lost Tribes of the northern kingdom of Israel. Numerous societies identify themselves with the Lost Tribes, and modern developments have seen widely dispersed claims of early Israelite origins. Narratives of the Lost Tribes and their identification with modern peoples present one of the more extreme contrasts between scholarly interpretation and popular alternatives applied to the history of the Holy Land.

Chapter 10 (pp. 210–250) traces the history and traditions of early apostles and disciples (for instance, Saint Peter in Rome, Saint James in Spain, Saint Thomas in India, Saint Joseph of Arimathea in Britain)



and the spread of Christianity. The journeys of these apostolic travellers provide significant insights about faith, and the church and state politics of the late antique and medieval worlds.

Chapter 11 (pp. 251–257) takes a brief critical look at some of the subjectivities of scholarship relating to the remarkable legacy of Egypt and the ancient Near East. Derricourt notes that many of the synthetic histories of ancient civilisations from the 19th century until well into the 20th focused on their elites and the lives of the ruling groups. In one example, Derricourt cites the “magisterial” publication titled *Egypt Under the Pharaohs* by Sir Alan Gardiner, which “maintained a clear focus on the politics and rulers; an exemplar of the power of a centralised and military powerful state” (p. 255). A contrast is made with Barry J. Kemp’s *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (2006), one of the rare surveys that escapes the framework of royal dynasties (p. 256).

In the chapters pertaining to Egypt, the findings presented have challenged and contradicted the viewpoints of science and scholarship. “Such ideas reflect a range of contexts and motivations: older religions and their modern revivals; new belief systems; enthusiasms for the mystical; political pressures to reinvent a past to fit in with the present; and secular yearnings to rewrite history” (p. 171).

It is reported, “Critics of ‘pseudohistory’ and ‘pseudoarchaeology’ take the alternative interpretations as a classic example of invented pasts, interpretations based not on science but on fantasy and imagination” (p. 44). For example, to most Egyptologists writing on the pyramids, pyramidologies are not of relevance or interest. “Where they are mentioned, it is more a focus on the pre-scientific attempts to understand the pyramids, or the nineteenth-century attempts to use ratios of pyramid measurements in a grand theory about their role” (p. 44).

The range, scope, and spread of alternative interpretations seem unlikely to abate (p. 71). The desire to invent and advance new theories which contradict those of scholarly research remains vigorous. Derricourt notes, “Inspiration to complement Christian and para-Christian religions and cult movements has given way to arguments that compete in a society supposedly of secular scientific rationality. The greater the academic research on Egypt, the greater the enthusiasm for alternative ideas” (p. 69).

Despite the apparent interest in alternative interpretations, the perception of most people probably reflects, very broadly, the models and interpretations of scholarship. For example, if we look at those interested in ancient Egypt, most people subscribe to a conventional view of Egypt’s past to which most specialists would broadly assent (p. 171).

In reading *Antiquity Imagined* I could not help but think of my own students. At the beginning of every new semester of the academic year I ask students why they are taking particular subjects and what their expectations are for the subject. I am always surprised by some of the comments of students enrolling in *Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, an introductory first year subject offered in the Classics and Archaeology programme at the University of Melbourne. Whilst most students want to learn about the origins of civilisation or great archaeological discoveries in Egypt and Mesopotamia, there are always some students who openly declare a real and genuine fascination with topics like the ‘curse of the mummy’ or the role of aliens in constructing the pyramids. Many would regard these latter students as part of “the lunatic (or looney) fringe” (cf. p. 1, 5), members of a society or group who adopt or support views regarded as extreme or fanatical. As Derricourt’s study demonstrates, individuals or groups with alternative interpretations have been around for a long time, and it appears this fringe continues to attract keen interest in increasing numbers.

Derricourt notes the proliferation of information available in the digital age provides a forum for those wishing to advance quasi-archaeological and quasi-historical theories. Equally importantly, ready communication to and between the followers of these ideas is facilitated. This allows even greater innovation in the introduction and spread of alternative histories. It is no longer necessary to find a book publisher willing to gamble on the saleability of improbable ideas, or a television channel willing to run an ‘alternative’ documentary — though there is no shortage in both these categories (pp. 69–70).

I was reminded of the widespread and prevalent interest in alternative interpretations, especially relating to ancient Egypt, during the recent installation of one of my curated exhibitions in the Classics and Archaeology gallery at the Ian Potter Museum of Art. The exhibition, title *Mummymania*, included several

examples of mummified remains.<sup>1</sup> The exhibition opening attracted a larger than normal crowd, indicating the 'pulling power' of ancient Egypt, and in itself the enduring fascination with mummification. The exhibition also included a selection of movie posters. The intention was to illustrate that by the 20th century ancient Egyptian mummies were unambiguous villains, sinister predatory figures featured in pulp magazines dedicated to fantasy, science fiction, mystery and the occult, as well as in Hollywood films. An example of one of the movie posters is included in Derricourt's book (Fig. 3.4, p. 98). Derricourt notes that the history of the mummy in cinema is a long and complex one: the Internet Movie Database lists over 130 films with 'mummy' in the title (p. 95).

*Antiquity Imagined: The Remarkable Legacy of Egypt and the Ancient Near East* will interest anyone with a fascination in the ancient world. With my students in mind, this book would be a useful addition to future reading lists. It masterfully charts the history of outsiders who have attributed to the Middle East, and especially to ancient Egypt, meanings that go way beyond the rational and observable.

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Ömür Harmanşah, *Place, Memory and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments*. London and New York: Routledge, 2015. Pp. xvii, 200. ISBN-13: 9780415744881. e-book ISBN-10: 0415744881.

Ömür Harmanşah has written a slight book with an evocative title in an evocative style. It contains evident theoretical polemic. Inspiration was taken from post-modern and deconstructivism, particularly in critical architectural writing. While it is not everyone's cup of tea, there is nothing wrong with this in itself; indeed if this cocktail can stimulate those students who substitute skill with Information Technology for knowledge to become curious, the effort is to be applauded. But dexterity with words, and the quest for new approaches that promise to make scholarship relevant to contemporary concerns, are not in themselves sufficient to make a significant academic contribution.

Harmanşah purports to "present an alternative, place-based study reading of rock monuments of the Anatolian peninsula carved roughly into the living rock during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages." This promise is not, however, fulfilled. Several of his examples are not located on the Anatolian peninsula, especially the Neo-Assyrian inscription and rock reliefs at the Tigris Tunnel that are neither geographically nor culturally Anatolian. To this we may add Kurangûn rock relief in Iran and the World Heritage site at Nahr el-Kalb in Lebanon. Much of the book is not about rock carvings at all, but about built monuments like Chamber 1 on the Südburg inside the Hittite capital of Hattuša, the Hittite monument and pool at Eflatûn Pınar, or the pool of the same date at Yalburt. Here, at least, the time period is the Late Bronze Age. Caves, springs and sinkholes, like the Şangır Mağaza Sinkhole Sanctuary near Konya, are not always associated with either rock carvings or with the periods of focus.

On page 2 Harmanşah claims that the ambitious objective of the book is to develop "*a critical archaeology of place*" (his emphasis), but much of the book is anecdotal, beginning with a family reminiscence, describing in chapter 2 the author's personal emotional engagement with a grove of almond trees at the Urartian site of Ayanis in the highland massif of Eastern Turkey. It makes much too of the Leech Pond at Kerkenes where he gained his earliest experience of archaeological fieldwork under my direction. None of this has anything to do with the main theme of the book. With regard to the Leech Pond, it is neither "a locally recognized pilgrimage destination", nor a site of "collective blood-letting". Furthermore, leeching

<sup>1</sup> On the *Mummymania* exhibition (29 Sep 2015 to 27 Apr 2016) at the Ian Potter Museum of Art, University of Melbourne see: <http://www.art-museum.unimelb.edu.au/exhibitions/future-exhibitions/exhib-date/2015-09-29/exhib/mummymania>

is today practised over much of central and western Turkey, and leeches can be purchased in the bazars of all major towns and cities, including Istanbul and Ankara. The other place of healing at Kerkenes, the Well of Bees, is not mentioned while reference to the folkloric study by Bittel goes unmentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The rock cut monuments fare little better. Fraktin, to take but one example, is poorly described. No mention is made of Alexander's important study which demonstrated that the relief was recut;<sup>2</sup> and there is no in depth discussion of the different scholarly views concerning the possible function of this relief, i.e. whether it was funerary, related to military campaigns, or associated with roads or boundaries.

The impression gained is that the author needed to publish a book rather than having a book that needed to be published. At its best this expensive volume is marginal to the subject of Near Eastern Archaeology, failing to fulfil the promise of its title, or to do proper justice to the academic potential of its author.

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Heather D. Baker and Michael Jursa (eds), *Documentary Sources in Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman Economic History*, Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow books, 2014. Pp. vi + 388. ISBN 978-1-78297-758-2. (Hardcover).

This volume contains papers from the proceedings of a 2008 conference, held in Vienna under the auspices of Jursa's START project on the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BCE. The 13 papers cover a wide range of periods and places; each carries its own list of references, while a common index helps the reader identify people, places and topics that appear in more than one paper. Jursa's introduction is provocative and challenging in its own right, as well as setting out a clear explanation of the two objectives of the collection: to develop a common research infrastructure by standardising methodologies and creating accessible databases with robust content, and to show some results of the analyses that the data enable.

The first objective involves extensive collocation, winnowing and refinement of existing data sets. Charpin reports on progress in assembling nearly 30,000 texts of the Old Babylonian archives, covering a wide range of social, economic, religious and cultural events, into a single accessible database in a format that could be applied to other archival data. Malouta has developed a catalogue of water-lifting devices mentioned in papyri. Van der Spek provides a detailed segmentation of Babylonian price data for barley and dates. A common theme is metronomics—the challenge of standardising volumes and weights—which is canvassed in detail by Rathbone, though he admits the task is still incomplete.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Bittel 1960/61.

One difficulty that the approach brings to light is that often there are not enough data left after winnowing to do much useful analysis. Von Reden does a fine and conscientious job of segmenting wheat price data, but the resulting data groups are too small to be subject to much enquiry. Malouta's analysis of water-lifting devices is scholarly but the data are very sparse and much remains to be done before they become informative; the gaps are more likely to be filled by archaeology than by further analysis of the few surviving texts. In such cases documentation will never be more than corroborative but will be no less useful for that.

A common theme among the papers that attempt to make economic sense of the data seems to be a desire to disprove Sir Moses Finley's thesis that ancient markets were not economically rational—possibly a worthwhile objective in itself, but one that needs to be approached with some care. In the final paper in this book, Rathbone observes that “prices and earnings form one of the largest categories of numerical data.... which survive to us.” As a result, researchers are confronted by the almost irresistible temptation to try to get a story out of them, even when they are “sparse, random and extremely heterogeneous.” Thus Pirngruber's attempt to relate Egyptian grain prices to known locust invasions is not only doomed to failure because prices are affected by far too many variables to be subject to a single variable regression, but would not have been of great value anyway; everyone from Aristophanes to schoolchildren exchanging toys knows that prices are affected by supply and demand and we do not need to keep proving it. Validating market performance is of limited interest; markets always perform when they can and it is more revealing to explore why sometimes they do not. Nor should anyone who is aware of how today's economy operates be surprised by the fact that economic transactions in, say, Assur, Babylon or Egypt were not always purely rational (in the ideal sense used by economists) but reflected human values like loyalty, honour and shame. The Economic Man set up by Finley to contrast with ancient economies was always made of straw. No real society has ever behaved like that.

The institutional approach to price formation, broadly represented here, is much more revealing. Von Reden posits that apparently stable prices might have been influenced by the state but were not directed by it and might also reflect some degree of integration of geographically dispersed markets. In an otherwise inconclusive enquiry into the causes of price levels and movements for dates and barley in Babylon, Van der Spek shows that the speed of recovery from periods of shortage and high prices seems to have depended on politico-military circumstances. Rathbone develops a plausible time-series of estimates of grain demand for the Roman army and for the dole. The data are too sparse to identify any but local, short-term, effects with much confidence, but demonstrate a massive amount of waste and oversupply on specific occasions that seems sometimes to have disrupted supplies to other customers. Rathbone's concluding paper draws together data from different regions; consistent and lasting price differences between major regions appear too great for there to have been much arbitrage between markets, but his analyses show how local price responses to international disruption were affected by remoteness from principal trading centres and the extent of state storage. Taken together, these analyses not only offer important insights into social conditions in the relevant times and places but prompt a generalised hypothesis that can usefully be tested further in other settings.

When economic data are more directly integrated with social and political history they can offer valuable perspectives on the societies we are trying to understand, and this collection does not disappoint in this regard. Kehoe's use of established codices to explain how tenancy laws affected small farmers under the Roman Empire is a fine example. Tost uses small-format documents to demonstrate the continuity of monetisation and to challenge the notion of continuing economic decline in late antique Egypt. Charpin explores the Old Babylonian archives to estimate palace populations and trade volumes and to assess the factors behind land consolidation. Jursa describes how the Babylonian economy boomed in the “long sixth century”, thanks to an expanded and largely free labour force, more intensive agriculture, monetisation, urbanisation, and selective state intervention. Baker's data on house transactions in first millennium BCE Babylon, matched with excavations, provide important insights on family living arrangements and inheritance regulations, as well as a framework for incorporating new data and a segmentation system that eschews the dangerous use of averages. Dercksen's detailed description of product quantities, packaging, transport, clearing systems and market places in early second millennium BCE Assyria is set in the context of the

socio-political forces at work. He finds decisions on market timing and pricing were very sophisticated, as were decisions on taxation, interest costs and debt rescheduling. The human side comes to the fore; many of the instructions on buy/sell decisions could have been written today.

The clear message from these detailed analyses of complex interactions is that economies were mixed; neither fully controlled by rulers nor fully “rational” like the idealised model Finley contrasted them with. Over and above the contributions of individual papers to the understanding of particular societies and the economic relationships between them, the range of times and places covered here gives the lie to the supposed distinction between the centralised redistributive economies of Egypt and the ancient Near East on the one hand and the Mediterranean economies on the other. The papers by Jursa, van der Spek, Pirngruber and Tost are notable in this regard and the first, provocatively but almost certainly correctly, observes that one might infer similar market behaviours in the Greco-Roman world, which is much less rich in quantifiable data.

As these scholars and others continue to build the substantial edifice for which these papers lay the foundations, one hopes for two small changes of direction. First, the claim that the collection is multi-disciplinary is less convincing if seen from outside the perspective of academia. Even within it, “classicists, papyrologists, Islamic historians and Assyriologists” would form part of the same administrative unit in most tertiary institutions. Waerzegger’s application of Social Network Analysis to the abundant sociological data in cuneiform archives is an excellent example of the insights that can come from using tools from remoter disciplines. Her paper traces individual and group ties across data sets and will become more revealing as her database grows. At a simpler level, several of the papers would have benefited from a greater facility with graphic representation of economic matters. Some contributors do this well (Jursa stands out) but others do not even attempt it. It is almost impossible for a reader to see patterns in pages of tables with multiple columns, and explanations in the text can be tedious while remaining hard to follow.

Second, many of the contributors seem to be casting a nervous eye over their shoulder for the ghost of Sir Moses Finley. Twenty-five years after *The Ancient Economy* was published, Morris observed that “any informed discussion of these [ancient economic] phenomena has to start with Finley’s model.”<sup>1</sup> Another 15 years have passed and the same stricture seems to apply: those (relatively few) ancient historians who have been brave enough to engage with economics at all since 1973 have either felt obliged to apologise for their disrespect as they unearth yet more evidence against Finley’s thesis, or have restated his views in increasingly shrill and fact-free ways. (Fortunately few of the latter class remain, although an egregiously ignorant recent example is quoted at length in Jursa’s Introduction). Finley was a great historian and a remarkable man, but on most aspects of the ancient economy he was simply wrong. It is time we learned to tiptoe past his coffin in respectful silence and stopped pointing out that every serious attempt to analyse commerce in ancient times is another nail in it.

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<sup>1</sup> Morris (1999)

R. Rollinger and E. van Dongen (eds), *Mesopotamia in the Ancient World. Impact, Continuities, Parallels. Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of the Melammu Project Held in Obergurgl, Austria, November 4-8, 2013*. Melammu Symposia 7. Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2015. Pp. i–viii + 1–666. ISBN 978-3-868335-128-6. (Hardcover).

The Melammu Project investigates “the continuity, transformation, and diffusion of Mesopotamian and Ancient Near Eastern culture from the third millennium BCE through the ancient world until Islamic times” (1). The proceedings for the 7<sup>th</sup> Melammu conference, in seven sessions and 27 published papers, address a wide range of issues, many of which cannot be done justice in this review. The papers point to the wide range of possibilities and methodological difficulties emerging as knowledge of the Near East is growing.

The sessions are prefaced by the editors’ introduction and Robert Rollinger’s paper (“Old Battles, New Horizons,” pp. 5–32). Rollinger critically reviews the scholarly research concerning the role of ancient Near Eastern literature and civilisations in the formation of Homeric epics. He emphasises the cultural diversity and complexity of ancient Near Eastern regions and other elements, realised thanks to the progress in ancient Near Eastern studies.

Session 1 presents four papers focusing on rituals and related genres. Cynthia Jean (“Performing Rituals in Secluded Places,” pp. 41–52) raises the probability that Anatolian word *É.kippa*, denoting a ritual space, originated from the Sumerian logogram GL.PAD used for the Akkadian word *šutukku* (“reed hut”). If valid, this association has implications for understanding the cuneiform script, since in general logograms were presumably not pronounced. Patrick M. Michel (“Worshipping Gods and Stones in Late Bronze Age Syria and Anatolia,” pp. 53–66) compares elements of North Syrian and Anatolian worship combining anthropomorphic and lithic representations of the gods as cult objects. Alan Lenzi (“The Language of Akkadian Prayers in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* and its Significance within and beyond Mesopotamia,” pp. 67–105) builds on the intertextual relations between *Ludlul* and the incantation prayers. *Ludlul*’s themes and genre are then compared with the Book of Job and the psalms of individual laments. David P. Wright (“Ritual Speech in the Priestly-Holiness Prescriptions of the Pentateuch and its Near Eastern Context,” pp. 107–123) seeks a genre explanation for the omission of speaking to God in the presumed P source of the Pentateuch by comparing ritual texts from Mesopotamia and Ugarit. The continuity of oath taking by heaven and the earth/netherworld in Mesopotamian, Hittite and Greek texts is diachronically analysed by Alberto Bernabé (“To Swear to Heaven and Earth,” pp. 125–134).

Session 2 presents archaeological and art historical research on the reception of material objects and architectural contexts. Giacomo Bardelli (“Near Eastern Influences in Etruria and Central Italy between the Orientalizing and the Archaic Period,” pp. 145–173) investigates Etruscan tripods with specific features paralleled by items in Nimrud. Bardelli comments on their elite acquisition, usage, and preservation. “Bâtiment A” at the site of Meydancikkale near modern Gülnar, Rough Cilicia is studied by Winfried Held and Deniz Kaplan (“The Residence of a Persian Satrap in Meydancikkale, Cilicia,” pp. 175–191). They identify features of Achaemenid palace architecture for Bâtiment A and make a very strong case this was a satrapal residence in connection with mainland Achaemenid Persia. Joachim Ganzert’s “On the Archetype of Sacral Rulership Legitimization and the Lower Court in the Lüneburg Town Hall,” (pp. 193–220) compares architectural features of building spaces deemed temples, palaces, royal residences and domestic houses in Mesopotamian and Roman contexts and of the throne room of the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE Schloss Neuschwanstein with those of the 17<sup>th</sup> century CE Lüneburg Town Hall. Ganzert associates some of these features with forms of sacral legitimacy. It will be interesting to see how the author may test the paper’s conclusions in the future with new sample cases and further engagement with ethno-archaeological literature.

Session 3 focuses on figures of speech from close readings and a cross-cultural perspective. Sebastian Fink (“Metaphors for the Unrecognizability of God in Balāḡs and Xenophanes,” pp. 231–243) emphasises references in Sumerian Balāḡ-literature and argues that the anthropomorphic account of the gods was only one way of describing the divine in Mesopotamia. Fink posits a connection between this view and Xenophanes’s critique of the human depiction of the gods in Homer and Hesiod. Xenophanes may have drawn from



Near Eastern sources. Johannes Haubold ("Shepherds of the People," pp. 245–254) analyses the metaphor of the shepherd as part of a long-ranging dialogue and debate between Mesopotamia and Greece. The metaphor reflected optimism in Mesopotamia that the gods could reform the shepherd leader (Gilgamesh), whereas Greek epics generally resisted the notion of the shepherd leader reformed by the gods (for example, in the *Iliad*), since the gods were considered less interested in human affairs and acting for more selfish reasons. Krzysztof Ulanowski's "The Metaphor of the Lion in Mesopotamian and Greek Civilization" (pp. 255–284) compares the lion as symbol of royalty, enemy or divine power in different Mesopotamian and Greek contexts, pointing to similarities and differences in usage and significance. Amar Annus and Mari Sarv ("The Ball Game Motif in the Gilgamesh Tradition and International Folklore," pp. 285–296) identify the *pukku* and the *mekkû* in Tablet 12 of the Gilgamesh Epic with the 'rod' and 'ring', as royal symbols of a ball game representing the mortality of kingship. They go beyond the literal meanings of 'mallet' and 'ball', ascribing the two words a symbolic meaning, as well as undertaking an analysis of ball games in Estonian folk songs with implications related to seasonal celebrations. Thomas R. Kämmerer emphasises the literal meaning of *pukku* and *mekkû* in his response (pp. 301–302).

Session 4 incorporates five papers. Reinhard Pirngruber ("The Interaction between the Neo-Assyrian King and the Outside World," pp. 317–329) examines letters sent by the Assyrian king to his officials and compares patterns of argumentation in letters sent to Babylon and letters sent elsewhere. André Heller ("Why the Greeks Know so Little about Assyrian and Babylonian History," pp. 331–348) addresses the problem of Herodotus's knowledge of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires. Julien Monerie ("Writing Greek with Weapons Singularly Ill-designed for the Purpose," pp. 349–363) investigates the transcription of Greek in cuneiform during the Seleucid period with its variants, state of the documents, conditions of production, and scribal milieu. Krzysztof Nawotka ("Alexander the Great in Babylon," pp. 365–380) interprets the classical sources for Alexander the Great's stay in Babylon (331–323 BCE), benefiting from knowledge of late Babylonian culture gained from Assyriological research. Birgit Gufler and Irene Madreiter ("The Ancient Near East and the Genre of Greek Historiography," pp. 381–396) discuss how Herodotus's *Histories* and Ctesias's *Persika* can be evaluated in light of Greek historiography informed by ancient Near Eastern contacts and how the Near Eastern source material was reworked.

Session 5 compares Near Eastern and Greek political institutions and ideas. Kristoffer Momrak ("Identifying Political Power," pp. 417–431) discusses the presence of self-governance in the Near East, dispelling the image of the oriental despot while establishing that a forced comparison with the Athenian city-state and its institutions is problematic. Kurt A. Raaflaub ("Lion's Roar and Muses' Song," pp. 433–458) compares eighth- and seventh-century BCE Greek and Hebrew political thought and "very tentatively" draws wider conclusions. Hebrew thought conceived of law as originating from YHWH, whereas the Greeks, owing to their distance from eastern empires, emphasised the role of the citizen community in forming laws. Sabine Müller ("A History of Misunderstandings?," pp. 459–480) explores the impact and reception of Persian culture in the Greek and Roman stereotypical descriptions of Macedonians.

Session 6 explores Persian, Roman and pre-Islamic elements during the Sasanian and Islamic periods. Aleksandra Szalc ("Semiramis and Alexander in the Diodorus Siculus' Account (II 4-20)," pp. 495–507) discusses similarities and intertextual connections between Diodorus's depictions of Semiramis and Alexander the Great. Tim Greenwood ("Oversight, Influence and Mesopotamian Connections to Armenia Across the Sasanian and Early Islamic Periods," pp. 509–522) elaborates on relations among Christian communities in Armenia and Sasanian Mesopotamia in the sixth century CE as parts of a "miaphysite" confessional network. Lutz Berger ("Empire-building vs. State-building between Late Antiquity and Early Islam," pp. 523–531) tries to understand the success of early Muslim conquest and stability in the seventh century CE and emphasises the support of local elites who were deprived under Byzantine and Sasanian bureaucratic centralisation.

Session 7 deals with aspects of political ideology, legitimisation and representation. Frederick Mario Fales ("Looking the Gods in the Eye," pp. 543–559) studies Sennacherib's monumental complex near Khinnis and his seal (named "seal of destinies") according to Assyrian royal representations which express the divine legitimisation of the king. Dirk Wicke ("Assyrian or Assyrianized," pp. 561–601) discusses the problem of classifying Anatolian objects as "Assyrian" or "Assyrianizing" (beyond direct Assyrian control but adapting



the forms). Wicke points to pertinent unique aspects of Anatolian art and representation. Rocío Da Riva ("Enduring Images of an Ephemeral Empire," pp. 603–629) interprets pictorial representations and inscribed texts of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus at Lebanon (Brisa, Shir as-Sanam, Wadi as-Saba, Nahr al-Kalb) and Jordan (As-Sila' near Tafila). Da Riva argues they were placed in strategic positions for political representation. Jonathan Valk and Beate Pongratz-Leisten respond that many questions remain as to the social context and purpose of these rock monuments (pp. 644–645); this applies also to Assyrian and other such monuments in remote areas. Christoph Schäfer ("Inspiration and Impact of Seleucid Royal Representation," pp. 631–641) argues that instead of identifying with Mesopotamian traditions, the Seleucids emphasised the personal traits of Seleucus and his successors in imitation of and connection with Alexander the Great.

This volume is recommended for scholars interested in following the latest research concerning Mesopotamian civilisation beyond its own "conceptual autonomy" (*Eigenbegrifflichkeit*), considered from multiple disciplines and points of view. Specialists may browse the volume for their own area of expertise. The volume engages the reader by means of a diverse range of contributions and potentially very different understandings of what constitutes a topic concerning cultural transformation and diffusion in aspects of Mesopotamian civilisation. While this diversity is very welcome, a more unified and methodology-oriented discussion of the aspects under discussion also remains desirable and should be added among the future volumes of Melammu. The editors are to be congratulated for bringing together such a wide range of well-researched papers and for maintaining Melammu as a platform.

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Eveline van der Steen, *Near Eastern Tribal Societies during the Nineteenth Century: Economy, Society and Politics between Tent and Town*, Approaches to Anthropological Archaeology. Sheffield: Equinox, 2013. Pp. 302, 2 figs. ISBN 978-1-908049-83-4. (Hardback).

This neatly produced volume contains a very thorough English summary of more than 200 years of western observation of Near Eastern tribal societies in the Levant and Arabia. Van der Steen is an experienced Near Eastern archaeologist, working predominantly in the Late Bronze and Iron Age world of the southern Levant.

In a previous volume devoted to the archaeology of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Jordan, van der Steen advanced the suggestion that an enriched understanding of the biblical periods could be reclaimed through detailed reference to the Bedouin lifeways of the recent past.<sup>1</sup>

While suggested parallels between biblical peoples and 19th-century Bedouin were not too vigorously pursued in the earlier work, a similar intent lies at the heart of the volume currently under review, and shapes the very detailed exposition of 19th-century Bedouin life laid out across 12 carefully crafted chapters.

The first chapter outlines the difficulty in delimiting relationships between the component parts of what are defined as 'tribal societies'. Here van der Steen seeks to demonstrate that a wide variety of social mechanisms lie at the heart of the term 'tribe'. These may consist of antique traditions complying with venerable anthropological theory, or be the result of ad hoc novelties created by individual agency.

Van der Steen then moves on to a review of the major western explorers to happen across Near Eastern tribal groups in their 19th-century wanderings throughout the Middle East. She notes with approval the breadth and depth of much western observation, but rarely reflects on the potential hazards a lack of anthropological training may have produced in her observers. Observer bias is more than a theoretical consideration here, especially when one notes the frequency of self-confessed and often bizarre personal attitudes in many observers, often displaying deep ignorance of the peoples being described.

<sup>1</sup> Van der Steen 2004, 102–131.

Most western observers were quick—one might suggest over-quick—to draw parallels between then current Bedouin lifeways and the biblical stories familiar to all. This tendency to ‘colourise’ the Bible with Bedouin tints has been around for a very long time. The key issue here is whether or not there is anything of value or substance behind this tendency, so well pilloried by Said.<sup>2</sup> For while a successful case against Said’s sharp criticism of much western ‘anthropology’ of the Arabs has been assayed by Irwin,<sup>3</sup> the dangers inherent in idealising ‘the pure Bedouin lifestyle’ is given little serious consideration by van der Steen, whose own motivations become increasingly clear as the volume unfolds.

After outlining the history of western ‘exploration’ of north/central Arabia, there follow chapters on western accounts of Arab attitudes to territory, power structures, oral history and tribal historiography, landscape, tribal institutions, and Bedouin tribal relationships with state-level entities. These chapters all seek to contrast structural differences between tribal and supra-tribal entities, while illustrating the flexibility inherent in tribal societies, allowing them to transform rapidly into larger more complex associations should the need or opportunity arise. There is much of value in these carefully researched offerings, especially for modern devotees of the Middle East, seeking a deeper understanding of the varied and often complex sources for much western knowledge on the 19th-century Bedouin of the Levant and northern Arabia.

After three modern case studies (of which more anon), van der Steen offers four additional chapters on tribal economy, ethnicity, self-identification and ‘othering’, the role of women in tribal societies, and religion and folklore. This second group of ethnographic chapters is followed by a section containing three ancient case studies, each designed to illustrate how a deeper knowledge of the Bedouin world of the 19th century builds insight into our readings of the ancient world.

Here the book’s structure deflects the thrust of van der Steen’s main argument—that knowledge of the modern Bedouin enhances knowledge of the ancient past—as her modern and ancient case studies are separated by the second set of four data chapters, which could just as well have been grouped together with the first six. By way of illustration, when turning to the first of the ancient case studies on the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1750 BCE) kingdom of Mari—long a pin-up example for the importance of tribalism in the ancient world—van der Steen refers back to her modern case study on the Emirate of Ibn Rashid five chapters earlier, because “...the comparison was too compelling to ignore...” (p. 255).

It would have been far better for van der Steen’s argument if the modern and ancient case studies had been brought together in one integrated chapter, rather than being separated by 90 pages of otherwise extraneous information. Nonetheless, as the chief claim of the book rests on the utility of juxtaposing her case studies (modern and ancient) it is to a more detailed consideration of these that we now turn, starting with the modern studies, as they are presented first.

The first modern case study (pp. 149–151) outlines the history of what one might call the ‘robber-baronry’ of Akila Agha, an early/mid-19th-century Egyptian mercenary and revolutionary, who managed to carve out a Galilean-based protection racket from the wreckage of Ibrahim Pasha’s attempted seizure of the Levantine holdings of the Ottoman empire. Akila Agha is very much the colourful star of American naval Commander William Lynch’s exciting tale of derring-do in the 19th-century Jordan valley, where Akila was consistently portrayed as ‘a magnificent savage’ (p. 149). Van der Steen emphasises Akila’s charisma, personal courage and ability to attract a diverse group of mercenary followers to his standard. Parallels between Akila’s life and the ‘wilderness years’ of David’s history, as mercenary commander in a time of strife between Philistia and Saul, are carefully signposted.

The second case study (pp. 151–155) concerns the life and times of prominent 19th-century Majali tribal sheiks (Salim and Mohammad) of the Kerak region. Here we learn how the Majali came to seize the city of Kerak, and thereafter carve out a quasi-independent ‘city-state’ in south/central Jordan for several generations. Much is made of the need to balance rival alliances of tribal groups (successful), and to deal with imperial intrusions (ultimately unsuccessful), while maintaining a functional control over enough territory

<sup>2</sup> Said 1978.

<sup>3</sup> Irwin 2006.

to sustain the enterprise. The parallels with David's seizure of Hebron and the creation of an independent kingdom (Judah) are again clear for all to see. In case parallels were not sufficiently obvious, there is constant reference to the economic and social links between Hebron and Kerak during the Majali ascendancy.

The third offering describes the rise and fall of the Shammar tribal Emirate of Hayil (pp. 156–159). Discussed here is the rise of the emirate under Abdallah ibn Rashid, who united the four tribes of the southern Shammar and, aided by the Wahhabi tribesmen of Ibn Sa'ud, conquered Hayil, creating an independent emirate which ultimately controlled much of north/central Arabia by the late 19th century. Abdallah was succeeded by his charismatic son Talal, who increased the emirate's geographical and economic power during a long and successful reign. Thereafter, several failed wars, the Ottoman construction of the Hejaz railway (which ruined the overland Hajj trade), and finally the great Arab revolt in WWI (where the Rashidis chose the wrong side) saw the rapid collapse of the Hayil emirate in the early 1920s.

For van der Steen, the three key elements in her modern case studies are the importance of the personality of the leader, the development of a competent army loyal to that leader, and the securing of a reliable base from which to rule. She suggests the case studies point up both the variety and the flexibility of the socio-political structures governing 'tribal' societies, this set beside the importance of charismatic individuals as catalysts driving change, in what remained volatile political associations.

The ancient case studies commence with a consideration of the Middle Bronze Age kingdom of Mari, long considered the ancient tribal kingdom par excellence. As noted earlier, van der Steen links this ancient tribal confederacy directly with the Emirate of Ibn Rashid. However, when she comes to outline the history and archaeology of Mari, what is presented is a pretty standard outline of the workings of the kingdom, *sensu* Fleming.<sup>4</sup> There is very little 'insight' gained by considering the Emirate of Ibn Rashid in tandem with Mari, beyond the suggestion that both settlements of Mari and Hayil may have consisted largely of administrative and religious quarters, with the majority of the domestic dwellings located outside the city walls. While this observation on the makeup of ancient walled settlements has been made many times before, given that rather less than 10 per cent of Mari has been excavated and more than half the site lost to erosion, this suggested parallel should be seen as highly speculative.<sup>5</sup>

Van der Steen returns to the familiar ground of the Late Bronze/Iron Age transition in Jordan in her second ancient case study. As in her previous monograph (2004), she outlines a picture of Late Bronze/Iron Age Jordan that is heavily influenced by her views on the Bedouin drivers of 19th-century Jordanian settlement patterns; they are said to have controlled trade, population movement and settlement in both the Jordanian uplands and the valley bottoms.

Van der Steen then (and now) likens the Late Bronze Age Egyptian empire in Canaan to the Ottoman control of the Levant, and sees the hand of 'palaeo-bedouin' actors in every settlement recession, trade route change and population movement hinted at in the ancient sources, these 'tribal actors' very much presiding over the end-time of the Egyptian New Kingdom imperium. Unfortunately, there is little reason to accept this rather lazy pattern-matching exercise, as there are a myriad of reasons why settlement in the Late Bronze/Iron Age Jordanian uplands may have receded, if indeed it did, with climate change the currently fashionable *deus ex machina*.<sup>6</sup>

While there is certainly some evidence for population movements involving nomadic actors (such as the Shoshu) in the always sparsely settled Jordanian south,<sup>7</sup> Late Bronze Age Egyptian textual evidence is suggestive of dense networks of settlement scattered across the Jordanian central/northern uplands, particularly in the land of the later biblical kingdom of Moab. As well, there seems to have been an important focus of settlement in Bashan (north Jordan and southern Syria) centred on the region to the north and east of Pella in the north Jordan valley, especially so if recent statements on the absence of significant Middle Bronze-Late Bronze age settlement horizons at mighty Tel Rehov in the Beth Shan Valley prove accurate.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Fleming 2004.

<sup>5</sup> Margueron 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Langgut *et al.* 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Levy *et al.* 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Maeir 2010.

The issue here (as elsewhere) is whether there are compelling reasons to see anything significant in the superficial parallelisms between recent Bedouin history and ancient happenings in the same region. Van der Steen's presentation of undoubtedly intriguing echoes between ancient and modern circumstance never amounts to an argument for significance, leaving the reader in some doubt as to the relevance of her parallel-matching exercises.

Van der Steen's final case study concerns the highly mobile Edomite cooking pots of southern Jordan and Israel (pp. 263–269). Here her detailed ethnographic data on wide-ranging Bedouin procurement practice for specific forms of storage and cooking vessels does have value (p. 267), but these 19th-century purchasing choices seem contingent on very specific historical circumstances which are hard to see paralleled in the sixth century BCE southern Levant. Indeed, van der Steen moves on from considering Bedouin practices to discussing the equally mobile Moabite cooking vessels (p. 268), before concluding that wide-spread movement in specific forms of ancient cooking vessels must have been mediated by the technical superiority of the product, even though none is apparent or demonstrated by analysis. This conclusion doesn't seem to rely on the Bedouin parallels for any particular support, making their relevance difficult to discern. The counter-argument, that it is not the pots but their makers (women?) moving about the ancient landscape, is not even considered, nor are less prosaic explanations, such as that illustrated by study of the Byzantine period Kefar Hananya cooking pots, widely distributed beyond the Galilee but sourced to one locale, due to requirements of Jewish ritual purity.<sup>9</sup> Here, one might argue that privileging Bedouin parallels actually restricts the potential range of explanations under consideration.

The book ends abruptly with the presentation of the final case study, seriously undermining the intent of the work. Van der Steen's main purpose in producing this detailed compendium of Bedouin lifeways needed reinforcing with a carefully argued summary and conclusion. However, in the absence of a concluding statement, her argument is wholly reliant on the force of her case studies, ancient and modern. Whether we are convinced of the ability of the modern Bedouin parallels to add more than picturesque colouring to the scraps of ancient evidence that have survived is to be doubted. Further, Van der Steen's unstated invitation to fill in ancient gaps in knowledge with modern ethnographic detail is positively dangerous.

This is not to say that van der Steen is unaware of the vast gulf of difference between the political, social and economic circumstances of the ancient and modern worlds, as she often points out that Bedouin tribal organisation is endlessly flexible and historically contingent. However, given this, one struggles to see what serious value deep consideration of Bedouin lifeways offers to the ancient analyst. Most revealing in this respect is the very slight use Classical Arabists make of modern Bedouin ethnography when seeking to reconstruct the pre-Islamic history of the Levant.<sup>10</sup>

All these caveats aside, there is much of value in van der Steen's monograph, but this lies in what she actually presents (a thorough compendium of western views on Bedouin lifeways), rather than what she would have it used for (a sourcebook offering insight into ancient Iron Age tribal society). The one is useful, the other wholly without justification.

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<sup>9</sup> Adan-Bayewitz 1993; and see most recently Ben-David 2014, and references therein.

<sup>10</sup> For a recent example, Fisher 2011.

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Thomas L. Thompson and Philippe Wajdenbaum (eds), *The Bible and Hellenism: Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Copenhagen International Seminar). Durham: Acumen, 2014. ISBN-13: 9781844657865; ISBN-10: 1844657868. (Hardcover).

The stated aim of the collected essays in *The Bible and Hellenism* is to explore links between the Bible and Greek literature and provide contexts in which they may have happened. *The Bible and Hellenism* is in three parts and contains 14 essays which are the work of scholars from the Copenhagen International Seminar. Some of the authors are renowned for championing the thesis that the Hebrew Bible was written in its entirety during the Hellenistic period, although others allow that it was begun in the Persian period.

In "Part I: A Mediterranean or Ancient Near East context?" E. Pfoh in "Ancient historiography, biblical stories and Hellenism" points to a shared intellectual history between Ancient Near Eastern civilisations. He remarks also on similarities between Herodotus' *Histories* and the Deuteronomistic History as well as between other biblical works and Homer, Hesiod and Aeschylus's *Oresteia*, but does not claim there was

literary dependence of one upon the other. In a stimulating and scholarly essay, although some of its details are open to question, E. Nodet, "Editing the Bible: Alexandria or Babylon", argues that the Samaritan Bible should be accorded primacy. He points to biblical passages which show Shechem's authority as being greater than that of Jerusalem. Further, the Samaritan Bible does not contain the Nebi'im or Kethubim, suggesting that they were not in existence prior to the split between the Jews of Judaea and the Samaritans of Shechem sometime after the Maccabean Crisis. Using 1 and 2 Maccabees and Josephus, Nodet highlights the importance of Egypt when the legitimate and only High Priest (Onias IV) lived there and argues that Ben Sira throws light on Alexandria as the place of writing/editions of some of the holy books. R. E. Grimkin, "Greek evidence for the Hebrew Bible", analyses and counters Lester Grabbe's refutation of Grimkin's earlier proposal that the Pentateuch was composed c. 270 BCE in Alexandria, using Greek sources available in the library there. Much of the essay is devoted to demonstrating that the source used by Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1-8 was not Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca*, in order to refute the traditional claim that the Pentateuch was known in 315 BCE. While elements of Grimkin's argument are persuasive, others are not. He does not consider the likelihood of a number of *Vorlagen* of the Pentateuch and a continuous process of composition. The fourth essay, "The Philistines as intermediaries between the Aegean and the Near East" by L. Niesiolowski-Spanò seems strangely out of place in a volume devoted to comparing literary works. It asserts that the Philistines were a channel for Aegean cultural and linguistic aspects appearing in Jerusalem. While that is possible, the matter is complex and unfortunately the essay demonstrates no awareness of archaeological data showing the importation of Mycenaean pottery centuries prior to the arrival of the Philistines nor of the current debate about possible Hittite, rather than Philistine, influence on eastern parts of Canaan and Transjordan. In Essay 5, "Narrative reiteration and comparative literature: Problems in defining dependence", T. L. Thompson sagely demonstrates the recurrence of themes in literature spanning millennia, making it difficult to assess a passage in terms of dependence or chronology. He indicates that linguistic or other means must be employed when attempting to consider parallel texts in terms of which was primary. Unfortunately, his advice does not seem to have been heeded by some of the authors in the second part of the work.

Part II is entitled "Greek-Jew or Jew-Greek?" In Essay 6, "Stranger and city girl: An isomorphism between Genesis 24 and Homer's *Odyssey* 6-13", Y. S. Kupitz asserts that the biblical author used Homer (*Od.* 6-7) to construct his tale of Rebekah meeting Eliezer, Isaac's manservant, as well as other biblical accounts of a male and female meeting at a well (Jacob and Rachel in Genesis 29 and Moses and Zipporah in Exodus 2). As it is now recognised that Homer drew on Ancient Near Eastern tradition, some exploration of that would have been desirable. Perhaps a common source lay behind some of the stories in Homer and in the Bible, as C. H. Gordon asserted. In Essay 7, "Hesiod's Heroic Age and the biblical period of the Judges", P. Guillaume compares individual judges with Greek heroes, particularly those in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. He says that apart from in Ruth 1:1, a distinct period of the Judges is not explicit in the Bible and argues that the stories of the heroic characters known as the Judges were assigned to a particular period only in Hasmonean times, in order to demonstrate that heroes preceded and fed into a monarchical period. A glance at a concordance suffices to show that Ruth is not the only work to indicate a time of judges. In Essay 8, "Sex, violence and state formation in Judges 19-21", A. K. de Hemmer Gudme draws attention to the similarity of the story in Judges 21 to the abduction of the Sabine women known from Livy and Plutarch, as well as to the dismemberment of the concubine in Judges 19 and the Osiris myth. Sensibly, she concludes that the Roman and Egyptian myths are too diverse from the stories in Judges in both language and plot to indicate any literary dependence. Rather, in a weak conclusion, she says that they all highlight the notion that social chaos precedes social order. In Essay 9, "Israel the antithesis of Hellas. Enslavement, exile and return in the Greek Solon tradition and the Hebrew Bible", F. A. J. Nielsen considers the theme of the exile and return in the Hebrew Bible and in Solon. He suggests that it is possible to read parts of the Hebrew Bible in contrast to Greek ways as promulgated by Solon: laws are from God, not a wise man; exile and return are part of the education of Yahweh's people; Solomon was more magnificent than Solon. He also draws attention to the forgiveness of debts in Solon and Ezra-Nehemiah. The paper is rather vague and does little more than draw attention to similarities and contrasts in themes or their details.



Part III is entitled “Fleets from Kittim (Numbers 24:24) – Roman era texts”. In Essay 10, “The Books of the Maccabees and Polybius”, P. Wajdenbaum sees the convergence of Daniel 11 (esp. 11:11–16) and Polybius but not literary dependence. Similarities between 1 Maccabees and Polybius have been noted before, but Wajdenbaum looks more closely at particular passages from each of them and wonders whether 1 Maccabees drew on Polybius for his historical information. Wajdenbaum appears to think that that was the case, but the passages he compares persuaded this reviewer that there was no definite proof: literary dependency was not apparent and each may have had another source or sources that they drew upon. In Essay 11, “Text and commentary. The Pesharim of Qumran in the context of Hellenistic scholarship”, R. G. Kratz provides a service to scholarship by showing that the formal shape of the Qumran Pesharim is like that of Greek commentaries. While he recognises that the term “pesher” and the technique of that name derives from Mesopotamia and uses the “ancient system of philology” it, like the Greek commentaries, is concerned with historical information. Nevertheless, the Qumran Pesharim go beyond the Greek commentaries by providing a theological evaluation of the historical information. As Kratz says (p. 227), “God’s word is explained by way of God’s word in accordance with the rule ‘explain Homer by way of Homer’”. In Essay 12, “Josephus in the tents of Shem and Japheth. The status of ancient authors in Josephus’ treatise *Against Apion* 1.2–218”, I. Hjelm explores Josephus’s uses of and opinions about sources. She points out that he says he prefers those based on ancient records and that he identifies such sources as belonging to the Ancient Near East. Greek writings are not viewed as reliable by Josephus, even if they are contemporary with the ones from the Ancient Near East. Hjelm opines that Josephus has a propagandist motive: to promote Jewish antiquity and reliability. Such a conclusion is rather simplistic and would need to be based on more evidence than is provided to be convincing. In Essay 13, “Recognition scenes in the *Odyssey* and the Gospels”, J. Taylor outlines such scenes in the *Odyssey* and the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John. He demonstrates their similarity and analyses their function, showing that they are often theological and/or literary parables or metaphors. He does not assert direct dependence of the Gospels on Homer. In Essay 14, “Hesiod’s *Theogony* and the Book of Revelation 4, 12 & 19–20”, B. Loudon demonstrates convincingly clear links between the *Theogony* and the cited chapters of the biblical work. He says (p. 276) that in his opinion, “Revelation *consciously* appropriates structures from Hesiod’s narrative and does so with a specific agenda” and that Zeus himself could be linked with Satan!

In the opinion of the present reviewer, there are some very worthwhile essays in *The Bible and Hellenism* but also some that are very weak. The binding of the (hardback) book is a concern as many pages fell out at the time of the first reading.

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Milad Milani, *Sufism in the Secret History of Persia*. Durham: Acumen Publishing, 2013. Pp. xv + 234. ISBN-10: 1844656772. (Hardcover).

The publication of this book is good news for students and scholars of Sufism. Its author has undertaken the great challenge of investigating Sufi mysticism in Persian history generation by generation. In his study, Milani examines mystical elements and aspects that penetrated Sufism via pre-Islamic religious streams such as Mithraism, Zoroastrianism and Mazdaism, demonstrating their cascading effects on early, medieval and modern Islam. His monograph also discusses the way some of these elements challenged mainstream Islam through the ages.

Milani tackles a very important issue even before he begins his extensive disquisition: the methodological difficulties and problems that may arise in discussing the question of Sufi mysticism in Persian history. What is more, he offers an approach of his own toward them. The book comprises nine chapters, each a



self-contained unit that builds on and contributes significantly to the broader thesis of the monograph. Each chapter describes a level in the mystical development and history of Persia; together they lead the reader step by step through the periods of Persia's spiritual past.

By deconstructing the history of Persian mysticism layer by layer and discussing all its traditions and religious streams, Milani explains today's Sufism. On the basis of his findings and the immensely important insights that they yield, he concludes that there are actually several kinds of Sufism and Sufi tradition, not just one. He also draws an important distinction between 'Islamic mysticism', a generic term that denotes a blend of traditions and folk beliefs, and 'Sufi tradition'.

The task that Milani accepted would pose a challenge to an entire group of scholars, because it entails proficiency in several languages, knowledge of several academic fields, and familiarity with and discussion of varied and complicated terminologies from diverse themes. Milani handles all of this deftly. Throughout his book, he elucidates and broadly explains terms that are vague or obscure, allowing any reader interested in Sufism to read and understand the book easily.

Overall, this book makes an important contribution to the academic literature on the aspect of Sufism in Persian history. It provides much food for thought, offers new thinking on old issues in research, sometimes philosophical in nature, and challenges previous academic views. *Sufism in the Secret History of Persia* is indispensable for anyone who takes an interest in this field and immensely useful for anyone who wishes better to understand the mysticism of Persia.

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